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malto

an ethnosemantic study

B. P. MAHAPATRA
Asstt. Registrar-General (Language Division)
Office of the Registrar-General, India
Calcutta

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
Manasagangotri, Mysore-570006

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FOREWORD

The Central Institute of Indian Languages was set up on the 17th July 1969 with a view to assisting and co-ordinating the development of Indian languages. The Institute was charged with the responsibility of serving as a nucleus to bring together all the research and literary output from the various linguistic streams to a common head and narrowing the gap between basic research and developmental research in the fields of languages and linguistics in India.

The Institute and its four Regional Language Centres are thus engaged in research and teaching which lead to the publication of a wide-ranging variety of materials. Preparation of materials designed for teaching/learning at different levels and suited to specific needs is one of the major areas of interest of the Institute. Basic research relating to the acquisition of language and study of language in its manifold psycho-social relations constitute another broad range of its interest. The publication will include materials produced by the members of the staff of the Central Institute of Indian Languages and its Regional Language Centres and associated scholars from universities and institutions, both Indian and foreign.

The Central Institute of Indian Languages has initiated the Grammar series in non-literate languages in general and tribal languages in particular presenting a description of every such language in the sub-continent. This is undertaken with a view to producing instructional materials necessary for learning and teaching the language concerned. It is also expected to be of interest to research workers and scholars engaged in the field of synchronic and diachronic study of languages.

Dr. B.P. Mahapatra's 'Malto—An Ethnosemantic Study' breaks a new ground in the field of Indian Linguistics. It is clearly demonstrated how linguistic insight on the one hand and Anthropological and Sociological insight on the other can be blended together to give meaning to the cultural personality of the people. Dr. Mahapatra's competent handling of this synchronic aspect of the study and indications for further synchronic and diachronic studies, I hope, will stimulate scholars to undertake similar in depth studies on various other tribal groups.

Debi Prasanna Pattanayak
(DEBI PRASANNA PATTANAYAK)
Director

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B. P. Mahapatra

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. History :

The first full length description of the Pahariya tribe of the Rajmahal Hills, Santal Parganas, Bihar, by Lieutenant T. Shaw appears in the volume 4 of the Asiatic Researches in 1792. The article opens with the following lines. "A slight knowledge of the language of the natives of the hills in the district of Bhagalpur and Rajmahal, having brought to my observations that their customs, as well as their language, differed from those of the inhabitants of the neighbouring plains; I have, for some time endeavoured to acquire a good account of them, from the belief that, notwithstanding their connection with, and dependence on our Government, they have been little known beyond the limits of the hills"(1792 : p.45). Shaw has referred to these people generally as 'Mountaineers' obviously influenced by the term 'Pahariya' which the Malers still use. Another term 'Mullare' (Maler), as a possible alternative name for this tribe occurs in other contexts (Ibid., p.47). As regards the area of his study he mentions three 'Tuppahs' namely 'Mudgeway, Ghurry and Munnuary', which I am unable to locate now, but the linguistic material which his description contains, such as : "Demauno (de:mano), muckmun (mak manu), kundone (kanḍo), ruxey (raksi), chalnad (ca:l na:d), kosarane (qosre), cherreen (ceṛgni), oogoss (ugs–), poonate (pu:ne), singlah (siñla)" etc., leaves little doubt that the people were speakers of the Malto language. Furthermore, occurrence of some words like "Takalloo (ti:qalo) – Indian corn, Naito (nañto) – millet, Kuldee (kaldi) – plantain, Chalnad (ca:l na:d) – name of a god", peculiar to the Sawria dialect of the Rajmahal–Godda Sub-divisions makes the identification yet finer.

The next important work which should have come here in chronological order is F. Buchanan's 'The Survey of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810–11', but unfortunately this report remained fairly unknown until H.H. Risley, widely acknowledged him in his 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol.II', in 1891, which probably led to its final publication in 1930. In the meantime, W.S. Sherwill's 'Notes upon a Tour through the

Rajmahal Hills' appeared in 1851, and it was observed that, "The hills are inhabited by two distinct races, the Mountaineers or a race living on the summits of the hills and who are with rare exceptions, never found residing in the valleys; and the Sonthals who reside in the valleys. But these races have distinct languages, neither of which are understood by the Hindustani man, nor are the two languages understood by the two races" (1851, pp.544–545).

In 1872, E.T. Dalton recorded the various divisions of the so-called Mountaineers in his "Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal" – a work already accomplished by Buchanan equally efficiently decades ago, and to which Risley had alluded so faithfully. In any case, according to Dalton, "The Pahariyas are divided into three tribes, the Malers, the Mal and the Kumar; the first retain more of the habits of their ancestors than the other two, and are rather proud of their unbounded liberty in the matter of food" (1872, Reprint, 1960). But then, he was somewhat forced to admit that these tribes were "altogether unconnected", particularly when the languages spoken by these tribes did not prove sufficiently analogous to establish their identity.

This, however, would not deter Risley from reexamining the issue. While he generally agreed with Dalton on the question of resemblance between the language of the Male and the "Mongrel dialect spoken by the Malpaharias" as slight, he held the view that "they tend on the whole to show that Buchanan's opinion is not so clearly untenable as has been sometimes supposed to be the case" (1891, Vol.II). And in Buchanan's opinion, "The northern tribe (the Males of Rajmahal) consider their southern neighbours as brethren, and call them Maler (Maler is the plural of Male), the name which they given themselves; but the southern tribe shocked at the impurity of the others, deny this consanguinity and most usually call the northern tribe Chet, while they assume to themselves the denomination of Mal or Mar, which however, is probably a word of the same derivation with Maler. The Mal, however, divide themselves into three tribes – Kumarpali, Dangerpali, and Marpali; and they often call the northern mountaineers Sumarpali, thus as it were, acknowledging a common origin, which I have little doubt is the fact". Further, Risley adds that, "The Mal Paharias are divided into two sub-tribes – Mal Paharia proper and Kumar or Komar-Bhag. The latter group, which corresponds with Buchanan's Kumarpali is the more Hinduised of the two" (1891, Vol.II).

Fresh evidence appeared in 1910 which supported Risley's hypothesis of Maler – Malpaharia identity. In O'Malley's words, "They (Malpaharia) now regard the Maler as barbarians, contemptuously calling them Chest (a corruption of the Hindi Chit meaning supine) while one branch arrogates for itself the title of Kumarbhāg, i.e., the princely race, and claims kinship with the Rajput family of Sultānābad. There appears to be little doubt however, of their common origin, and in Kumarpal, which is the wildest and least accessible part of the Dāmin-i-koh, they assimilate in polity and mode of cultivation more to the Maler in the north than to their brethren elsewhere in the district. Here also they prefer to speak the Maler tongue instead of the dialect used by the Malpaharias of the south and west. In fact, in this 'tappa' which lies on the boundary between the two sections of the Pāhārias, they are said to be undistinguishable from the Maler in language, habits and appearance" (1910, pp.82–83).

In this connection, Sarkar's observations are also equally significant, for he too notes that "The inter-relationship of the above two tribes (Maler-Malpaharia) is interesting. The more one goes to the south the more the divergence between the two tribes appear to be pronounced. There are many a village in Pakur sub-division under Litipara and Kunjobona Bungalows where these people live side-by-side in the same village and inter-marriage is practised. From the many evidences in the culture of the two peoples there cannot be any doubt that the Malers and the Mālpāhāriās belong to the same ethnic stock. The Mālpāhāriās have partly absorbed the Hindu culture but their dialect still possesses the influences of their mothertongue, the Malto" (1938, p.17).

Two Census Reports, which have played key roles in the history of these tribes are the Census Reports of Bihar and Orissa, 1931 and 1941. The former classified the Malpaharias as speaking a form of western dialect of Bengali and the latter recorded the Kumarbhag Paharias separately from the Malpaharias. Shortly after these developments, in 1946, the first exclusive report on the Kumarbhags appears in print. It is said that, "Kumarbhag Paharias will intermarry with Mal Paharias, but will not have any social inter-course with Sauria Paharias whom they look down on as unclean and unworthy to mix with their tribe in any way, though all speak the same language, Malto . . . . The Saurias eat beef but not the Kumarbhag or Mal Paharias" (Adair, 1946, pp.209–210).

In the late fifties and sixties, when interest with these tribes was revived, the old question of the last decades, however, did not gather fresh momentum. For instance, B.B. Verma who had worked among all the three sections of the Pahariyas had very little to comment on the identity question. He merely states that, "The Kumarbhag Pahariyas observe all the tribal customs and manners, and have tribal pattern of life" (Verma, 1960, p.3). However, the latest significant work in this line is L.P. Vidyarthi's and according to him, "At another level the Paharia make distinction among the Paharia themselves. Some are Maler or Sanvaria Paharia, some are Māl or 'Mānr' Paharia and the other are Kumarbhāg Pahāriā. For all practical purposes they are three distinct endogamous and linguistic tribal groups" (1963, p.58).

1.2. Divisions of the Pahariya Tribe :

From all these interesting descriptions, we can isolate the three most important factors which are advanced consistently to contrast the divisions of the Pahariya tribe. These factors are, food-taboo, endogamy and the language. The earliest opinion is as follows. "The territory of the mountaineers may be divided into a northern and southern portion : the former occupied by a tribe that has an appropriate language, that eats beef, and has not the least vestige of the doctrine of caste, the southern tribe has adopted the Hindi or the Bengalese languages, according as these prevail in the lowlands adjacent to their hills; with this they have adopted the spiritual guidance of some low Hindus, and the doctrine of caste, and finally they have rejected the use of beef" (Buchanan, 1939, p.161). The latest opinion is that of Vidyarthi's. "The basic cultural difference that comes up between the Maler on the one hand and the Mal and Kumārbhāg Paharia on the other is owing to the use of beef" (1963, p.59).

Vidyarthi's neat solution could have been acceptable had there been no information on the 'Malpaharias' of the South Pakur and South Godda portions of the Damin-i-Koh. Unless all the observations made on the 'Malpaharias' of this area by O'Malley, Sarkar and Adair are baseless, and my own field-work shows that it is not so, naturally the 'Malpaharias' of this area have certain peculiarities by virtue of which they should be distinguished from others and particularly from the Malpaharias of Dumka sub-division. To begin with, unlike the Malpaharias of Dumka sub-division, these 'Malpaharias' speak Malto and frequently inter-marry with the Saurias. In many other details, such as: the use of the term pa:hṛiya as a surname, 'jhum' cultivation, etc., they are as O'Malley put it, "undistinguishable from Maler", except for the fact that they too do not eat beef. Therefore, four groups of Pahariya have to be isolated and they may be contrasted in these details.

1) Marpaharia – They speak an Indo-Aryan dialect as their mother tongue (see, foot-note 1). They may intermarry with the Kumarbhags only. They do not eat beef. They are mainly concentrated in the Dumka sub-division of Santal Parganas. From now on, this group would be referred as 'Mar Paharia' (see, foot-note 2).

2) Kumar Paharia – They speak the Kumarbhag dialect of Malto. They may inter-marry with the Marpaharia only. They do not eat beef. They are mainly concentrated in the southern portions of Pakur and Godda sub-divisions.

3) Malpaharia – They speak the Malpaharia dialect of Malto. They may inter-marry with the Sawriya Pahariya. They do not eat beef. They are mainly concentrated in a narrow strip, extending from Litipara in Pakur to Chandana in Godda.

4) Sawriya Paharia – They speak the Sawriya dialect of Malto. They eat beef. They are mainly concentrated in Rajmahal, Godda and the northern portion of Pakur sub-division.

It is quite clear from this data that these four groups of people cannot be called inter-related by any one set of criteria, either linguistic or ethnographic. On the basis of linguistic criterion alone, the Kumar, Mal and the Sawriya form a single language community in contra-distinction to Mar-

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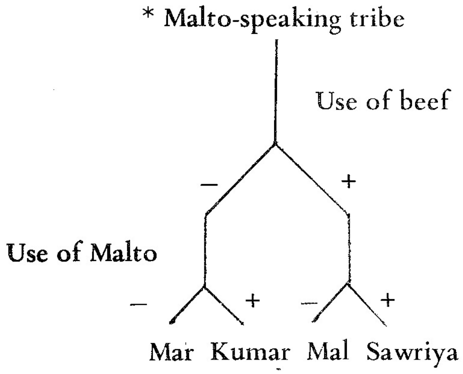
1 A short description of this dialect is given by Grierson, 1903, p.99. For a recent account of the same dialect, see, Dasgupta, 1970..

2 In fact, they are specifically referred by the name 'Marer' in this district. This is due to the fact that they in their own speech would generally pronounce the word 'Mal' either as maṛ or mao. The non-initial l in this dialect is either lost or changed to ṛ. See, Dasgupta for further details.

pahariya. On the other hand, endogamy lumps Mar and Kumar together against Mal and Sawriya, and food-taboos Mar, Kumar and Mal against Sawriya. However, taken the linguistic and cultural criteria together, it becomes inevitable at once not to posit an originally single tribe for all these four groups. The inter-relation may be represented as,



The plus sign signifies that a nodal trait, such as : 'use of Malto' or 'use of beef' was carried down unchanged and the minus sign signifies that it was not.

The chart implies that an originally Malto-speaking and beef-eating tribe, which probably had a two-clan system fell apart mainly on the use of beef. The non-beef-eating endogamous group further separated on the use of Malto. The group that continued to use the language is Kumarbhag, and the one that left it is Marpaharia. Similarly, the beef-eating endogamous group further separated on the use of beef. The group that continued to eat beef is Sawriya Pahariya and the one that left it is Malpahariya. Thus, the four groups can be identified by the following distinctive traits.

Name of the groups	Beef-eating	Inter-marrying	Malto-speaking
1. Marpaharia	–	+	–
2. Kumar Paharia	–	+	+
3. Malpaharia	–	–	+
4. Sawriya Paharia	+	–	+

The only note of caution I want to throw regarding the four divisions of this tribe, is that, reliable information about these branches is unlikely to be found outside the Pakur sub-division, mainly because the other three sub-divisions, i.e., Dumka, Rajmahal and Godda are lived predominantly by single sections of the tribe without coming in contact with others. On the other hand, Pakur sub-division and particularly several contiguous blocks in and around Litipara Police Station is the area where all the branches live close enough to the severe in boundary maintenance. It is in this area that the Kumarbhags and the Malpaharias mainly live and they do come in contact with Marpaharias and Sawriya Paharias spilled over from the neighbouring sub-divisions like Dumka and Rajmahal and Godda respectively.

1.3. Malto and 'Malpaharia' Languages :

In the light of this information, an attempt may be made now to explain several awkward questions pertaining to their language which still linger in want of proper clarification. The first one is the 'Malpaharia' vocabulary collected by Dr. Coates and faithfully appended by Dalton to his second volume. This list has led many scholars, including Grierson to see 'slight resemblance' between 'Malpaharia' (i.e., Marpaharia) speech and Malto. As far as the list is concerned, this resemblance is there, but that is because the vocabulary was collected from some dubious source. Had the list been rechecked, even the slight resemblance that was there would have evaporated. The second one is Droese's disconcerting opinion as it appeared in Risley. 'Mr. Droese with whom I discussed the subject some years ago, considered the two tribes (Male and Malpaharia) to be of common origin. This view is borne out by the fact that they understand one another's language readily. Though they assert that the dialects are different". This view of Droese is valid only if we identify the 'Malpaharia' with the Malto-speaking Malpaharia of Pakur and not with Marpaharia of Dumka.

It is likely that the Marpaharia dialect is ultimately connected with one of the major Indo-Aryan languages of Eastern India, but the dialects with which it is immediately connected are spoken by several splinter tribes distributed all-over the Chota-Nagpur belt, such as : the Pahariyas (Pahiras) and the Kharias of Manbhum (see, Dasagupta, 1967), the Bhuyans of Keonjhar, Orissa, (see, Mahapatra, 1971) and a few others in the Midnapur district of West Bengal or the Koraput district of Orissa (also see, foot-note 3 for Oldham's comments).

1.4. Demographic Composition :

The last historical problem on which I would like to comment upon in this connection is the demographic composition of this tribe. The discrepancy in the Malto language total and the Maler tribe attracted the attention of many and particularly Grierson's from whom O'Malley took it over in 1910. His summing up was as follows : "According to the Census of 1901 the number of persons speaking the language (Malto) in the Santhal Parganas was 59,476, besides about 1,000 in other districts, whereas the Maler tribe in this district was returned as having a strength of 47,006. The explanation of this discrepancy is probably either that Rājmāhāli, which was classed as Malto, should have been treated in many cases as Bangali, or that the returns for the Maler tribe were incorrect" (1910, p.71). A third explanation which could have wiped out the discrepancy was also the possibility that there were actually more Malto speakers in the district other than the Malers (as then the term 'Maler' did not include all other Malto speaking groups). Our present investigation shows that this is actually so. The Kumarbhags, who numbered only 9,301 in 1941, and the Malto speaking Malpaharias, whose figure is still not available, taken together, could have easily explained the surplus of 12,410 Malto speakers for the year 1901. But surprisingly enough, from 1911 onwards, this discrepancy either vanished away completely or reappeared in a form that was bewildering. This was more so, in the absence of any improvement in the procedure of Census enumeration. The figures are as follows : (Source, Roy Chaudhury, 1965, p.162).

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[3] "Buchanan's description of these people is particularly valuable, as indicating not only the wider distribution of these tribes in earlier times, but also their ultimate connexion with the Naṭ Pahaṛias and the Bhuiyās, who are now found dispersed over Southern Bihar, Chuṭiā Nagpur, South Mirazpur and the Jashpur and Sargujā States" (1930, p.xi.)

Census year		Number of	
		Sawriya Pahariyas	Malto Speakers
1911	...	62,734	62,651
1921	...	55,600	60,920
1931	...	59,891	67,052
1941	...	57,212	Not available
1951	...	Not available (see, foot-note 4)	23,774

According to the Bihar District Gazetters: Santals Parganas, 1965, the number of 'Sauriya Pahariyas' in the district stood at 53,576 in 1961 (Roy Chaudhury, 1965, p.173) while the Language Census 1961 returned 88,631 Malto speaking persons for the same year (Census of India, 1961, Language Tables). Assuming that the figure for the Malto speaking persons tacitly includes the Kumarbhags and the Malto speaking Malpaharias of the State, the difference of nearly thirty thousand seems reasonable and can be taken as the combined total figure for the Malto speaking Kumarbhags and Malpaharias.

1.5. Name of the People :

It is quite clear from the foregoing discussion that several names have to be encountered for identifying this tribe. But the two names which have gained some currency in the anthropological literature are Maler and Malpaharia. The former is employed specifically to identify the beef-eating northerners of the district and the latter for the non-beef-eating southerners. It is already shown that this division is untenable for a meaningful discussion of these people, particularly their language, which cuts across this dichotomy. Besides, Risley has pointed out categorically the inaptness of the term 'Maler' as a name for the tribe. According to him, "The actual name of the tribe appears to be Mál, which is combined with the pronouns

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4 According to some other source the figure for Sawriya Paharias for 1951 was 53,576. (See, Vidyarthi, 1963, Appendix-I, p.180).

en, em, and é in order to form the present of the verb substantive. Thus Málen is the first person singular, I am a Mál; Mále, the third person singular; Málem, the first person plural; and Máler (used in the spelling Malair by Lt. Shaw as the name of the tribe), the third person plural. The selection of the Mále as the tribal name for the purpose of this work is therefore both arbitrary and incorrect". In fact, it is even more so, as the expression 'e : n malen' does not mean 'I am a Mal', but merely 'I am a man', and therefore all Malto speakers, irrespective of Kumarbhag or Malpaharia, beef-eating or non-beaf-eating would use the same expression under identical situation.

The only name with which the tribe generally identifies itself is 'Paharia', and all its divisions except the Marpaharia use it as a surname. The latter has a number of hereditary surnames, which descend in the male line, but, for the Marpaharia females the surname still is 'Paharịn'. A practice, which seems fairly recent in its origin, is found to be gaining popularity and prestige among all the non-Marpaharias of this district, is the surname Malto in place of the more common 'Paharia'. The word 'Malto', probably indigenous to the dialect of the Christian converts of the Godda sub-division, has come to mean now not only the particular tribal identity, but also literacy, Christianism and sophistication. Invariably the non-Marpaharia children, who have had some contact with the Basic Training Schools of the Paharia Welfare Department of the Bihar Government besides becoming literates have become 'Maltos'. This change is fairly universal among the Christians.

1.6. Name of the Language :

The language spoken by the Paharias of the Rajmahal Hills was known as 'Rajmahali', until E. Droese introduced the name 'Malto'. This change was necessary, firstly because, the name 'Malto' is used by the people themselves in order to denote their own language (Grierson, 1967, Reprint, p.446). Secondly, although the earlier specimens of the Rajmahali language mostly contained Malto material only, the name however, was not exclusive of the speech of the Marpaharia, which was mistaken for a Dravidian form of speech (See, Hodgson, 1848, p.99). After Grierson classified the speech of the 'Malpahaṛia' as a form of 'corrupt Bengali' (Grierson, 1967, Reprint, p.446), the Dravidian tongue spoken by the rest of the tribe came to be known as Malto.

The word 'Malto', which according to Grierson simply means 'the languages of the Maler' seems incongruous when other usages of the word are taken into consideration, particularly as a surname. The -to formative, judging from its distribution, appears to have a much broader meaning unlike what has been supposed to be the case. For example, male (man) : Malto, is formed by the same process as the pairs muṛse : muṛsto (male : masculine), pel : pelto (female : feminine), etc. This discussion is not so much to pinpoint the meaning of the word 'Malto' but to stress its recent usage as an identity token. The -to formative, relatively more productive in the Sawriya dialect of the Godda Christians, occurs but rarely elsewhere, and in consequence the name of the language for the majority of people is 'mal saba' and not 'malto'. The need to replace old identity tokens like 'Pahaṛia' and 'mal saba' with an innovation like 'malto' has to be sought in deeper levels of rationalization.

1.7. Scope of the Present Description :

The present work is limited to the descriptive study of the Malto language with special reference to the Malpaharia dialect. The earliest published material on this language dates back to 1884, i.e., Introduction to the Malto Language by E. Droese. This book has remained by far the only reliable account for this language and it has been utilised extensively as the main source of information for several major works (Grierson, 1903; Burrow and Emeneau, 1961; Subrahmanyam, 1971; Shanmugam, 1971) and minor works (Bainbridge, 1907). All other published material prior to Droese's were in the form of vocabularies only (Swinton, 1878). After him, the only other notable work is 'Structure of Malto' by Sisir Kumar Das (1973). However, several ethnographic studies during last two decades have brought out linguistic materials which would presuppose significant dialect variations in Malto – a fact not suspected till now. For example, er panu (chicken egg), ali (mother's younger sister), osre (kind of pulse), epu (village), aṛiye (worshipping), etc., occurring in Harimohan's article in connection with the Kumarbhags fail to show the expected initial q (1959). In any case my endeavour will be to isolate the major dialects of this language and to present a descriptive analysis of the Malpahariya dialect which differs from Droese's and Das's in many significant ways. Simultaneously, I shall register my own findings on the Sawriya dialect of Rajmahal-Godda which would facilitate the understanding of published materials.

The survey of this language was conducted first in April 1971 and again in the last quarter of the same year. The third field trip was made in 1972 between August and December. The informants who were mainly associated with this work are listed below :

1. Budhinath Paharia, vill. Deopahar, Rajmahal, Age – 21, literate, Sawriya Paharia.
2. Chandrama Malto, vill. Kheribari, Godda, Age – 19, literate, Sawriya Paharia.
3. Arun Paharia, vill. Japni, Pakur, Age – 19, literate, Sawriya Paharia.
4. Narendra Kumar Nado, vill. Kachna Surujbera, Pakur, Age – 45, literate, Sawriya Paharia.
5. Saniram Malto, vill. Maknipahar, Pakur, Age – 28, literate, Malpaharia.
6. Basudev Malto, vill. Kathalpara, Pakur, Age – 23, literate, Malpaharia.
7. Sukadev Malto, vill. Parerkola Colony, Pakur, Age – 25, literate, Malpaharia.
8. Kamla Kumar Paharia, vill. Kitajor, Pakur, Age – 20, literate, Kumarbhag Paharia.

1.8. Position of Malto in the Dravidian Family of Languages :

Since there is little doubt now about the Dravidian origin of the Malto language, I shall discuss the question of its exact position in the family tree at some length. Grierson's early indecision regarding the position of Malto and the 'very closely related' Kurukh, has been relatively narrowed by the time the author completed his Introductory volume (See, foot-note 5).

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5. Compare the diagrams of the Original Dravidian Languages. L.S.I. Vol.4, 1906 and Vol.1, Part-I, 1927, p.83.

Inspite of some contradictions resulting from the interpretation of the same subject, it is understood that he allots Malto and Kurukh with Gondi and Kolami an intermediary position between Dravida (Tamil group) and Andhra (Telugu group) languages, and furthermore, Brahui – the isolated language of the North-West India, stands in equidistance from both the branches.

The more recent classification of the Dravidian languages into three broad groups of Southern, Central and Northern emphasizes their geographical distribution, which "generally reflects the degree of relationship between separate languages" (Andronov, 1964). According to this classification Malto, Kurukh and Brahui are grouped under the Northern Branch of the Dravidian genetic tree. The linguistic justification for this grouping advanced by Burrow and Emeneau is as follows: "It has been noted previously and indeed demonstrated to the hilt that Brahui joins with Kurukh and Malto in showing a unique phonological phenomenon within the Dravidian family. This is as follows: PDr. *k – is preserved as a stop before *i, *ī; before other vowels its reflex is the Kurukh and Brahui vioceless velar spirant [x] which is spelled in the published sources as kh, and Malto q, the phonetic value of which is still uncertain. On the basis of this correspondence a North Dravidian group has often been posited, consisting of these three languages" (Emeneau, 1962, p.62). A few other innovations which Emeneau has isolated as exclusive to Northern Dravidian are much less definitive.

As it is not possible for me to go into the whole question of classification here, I shall limit my discussions to the synchronic aspects of the involved sounds only. First, Malto [q], is a vioceless uvular stop throughout, unlike the Kurukh and Brahui [x]. But since, the Malto phonological system does not stand word-initial occurrence of the fricatives, the stop quality of the Malto [q] is of little significance (See, foot-note 6).

Initially, the voiceless stops k and q contrast before all vowels except the high vowels. Before i, iː and u, uː, the opposition between

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6 The lone exception to this rule is the s- initial words in Malto. But in this case also, many dialects have metathesised variants involving the s. For example: site : tise - 'sour', sutge : tusge - 'lizard', sitri : tisri - 'dew', etc.

velar and post-velar stop is neutralised and phonetically realized as [k] only. But, the obvious difficulty persists in explaining the occurrence of k and q in other contrastive positions, i.e., before low vowels, a and a : and before mid-vowels e, e : and o, o :.

Emeneau's third isogloss, i.e., *c becomes k initially before u, u : and e, e : helps in explaining a few aberrant cases (North Dravidian velar stops).

Phonotactically, or on the basis of internal evidences, a few more cases may perhaps be explained, i.e., any morpheme consisting of successive post-palatal consonants (nasals and h excluded), where one of these is a velar, the other cannot be a uvular and vice-versa. Therefore, in some morphemes like kagl - 'to die', kodk - 'to peck', kank - 'wood', kokṛi - 'crooked', kake - 'comb', kalk - 'to bite', kawg - 'to bend', ke : g - 'to dis-enchant', go : g - 'to speak', goga - 'stone', gage - 'twigs', etc., the occurrence of initial velars may at best be argued, but anything beyond that remains uncertain. Given this rule, DED's treatment of some pairs like Malt 1689. qonq/kokr, 1740. qoh-qot/kothg as doublets seem justified (See, foot-note 7).

The role of borrowings too in this connection cannot be underestimated for a large number of velar-initial words in Malto may ultimately be traced to either of the two neighbouring languages, Hindi and Santali with which the former is in closest contact. Some of these examples are kaldi - 'banana', kagte - 'paper', kakṛo - 'crab', ka : ce - 'glass', karja - 'debt', kobi - 'cauliflower', gal - 'cheek', ga : y - 'cow', go : ṛo - 'horse' and also probably a lot more words like, kaṛme - 'waist', kebu - 'chin', kaṭe - 'bed', kaṛi - 'hole', kaḍru - 'buffalo', konḍa - 'heart', Kapaṛe - 'fore-head', kelar - 'to play', kaj - 'to wash', kandṛe - 'quarrel', kaṛsa - 'earthen pot', ko : ṛa - 'corner', kol - 'to open', kejri - 'date palm', ke : po - 'turn, time', kaṛni - 'lamp black', kanḍya - 'wooden trough for animals', etc.

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7 Incidentally, DED does not enter Malto qoh-qot 'to cut by striking, slash' under the item 1740, but as long as Kuruk̲h̲ k̲h̲otna/k̲h̲osna 'to cut by striking, slash', along with kot°gna 'to pect at' are listed under the same entry, there is no difficulty in treating the absence of the Malto forms as editorial oversight.

Finally, at least in one of the major dialects of Malto, i.e., the Kumarbhag dialect, the total absence of uvular consonants is remarkable. The regular correspondence between the Kumarbhag dialect and the rest is,

Non-Kumarbhag	Kumarbhag
q <	∅- initially -?- elsewhere
g̣ >	h

Both Hahn and Grierson have noted similar variations also for some Kurukh dialects (Hahn, 1911). It appears that some Kurukh dialects show h in the initial position instead of the more general x̣. It is likely that these dialectal variations for both Malto and Kurukh are secondary developments. Nevertheless, and in spite of Emeneau's stern warning that "Br. h- is never to be taken account of in establishing Dravidian etymologies" (1962 : p.68), I suppose, it might be rewarding to take a fresh look at the intriguing problem, particularly when, Br. h- is generally [?-] barring a few loan words and sharing of cognates between Brahui and other members of the Northern Dravidian is as small as 7 instances only (See, foot-note 8).

All said, a fairly large number, of k- initial words in Malto, such as: kaṭ - 'to cross', kap - 'to touch', kas - 'to charge with blows', kaṛdr - 'to whisper', kaṭru - 'a tree', ka : nḍo - 'full-moon', kepe - 'nit', koḍ - 'to lie down', kor - 'to enter', koh - 'to bite', ko : la - 'earthen frying pan', ko : mo - 'a tree', ko : s - 'to distribute', etc., remain virtually unexplained. Besides, the treatment given by the DED to some of the items under 916(a), 929, 957, 1154, etc., is far from convincing. Granting that the law of North-Dravidian velar stops is generally sound, there still remains vast scope for improving upon the details.

1.9. Period of Divergence Between Malto and Kurukh :

This topic has become something of interest to us because of two

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8 See, for a possible different approach to Br. h-, Bh. Krishnamurti and Zvelebil, 1970, p.78.

existing works, one by L. P. Vidyarthi and the other by M. Andronov. For his study, Vidyarthi has used two control lists, one "unscientific as it includes 70% words that are not on Swadesh's list", and the other "incomplete as it does not include 70% of words on the latter list". In any case, Vidyarthi finally concludes that, "In the light of the scanty data that we have, a period of split may be tentatively indicated to be between 1000 to 1500 years ago" (1960). According to Andronov's calculations, the period of divergence between Malto and Kurukh is posited as 1.521 years, the beginning of which took place some time in the 5th Century A.D. (1964). Andronov, it appears, follows a method in drawing his cognate-lists which Elbert calls as "multi-cognate method" and thus finds a list for Malto and Kurukh with a slightly higher rate of retention than mine, i.e., retained portion of the list for Malto and Kurukh stands at 63%. Following is a list of cognates, drawn on the basis of "single cognate method" (See, Elbert, 1953).

	Malto	Kurukh (See, foot-note 9)
7. to bite	qa : r-	xār-
9. blood	qe : s	xĕso
10. bone	qocl	xocol
12. to burn (trans.)	qos-	xos-
13. claw	org̣	orox
15. cold	panye	paya
16. to come	bar-	bar-
17. to die	kcy-	khc?-
19. to drink	o :n-	on-
20. to dry	qay-	xay-
21. ear	qedw	xcbda
22. earth	qaj	xaj
23. to eat	mo : q	mõx
25. eye	qa :n	xan
26. fat	neña	nēta

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9 The Malto data are drawn exclusively from the Malpaharia dialect and the Kurukh data are from Sri Bharat Mandal, vill. Rukchak, Bhagalpur, Bihar. This small community of Oraons, consisting of some 70 villages migrated to Bhagalpur District nearly 200 years ago.

	Malto	Kurukh
28. fire	cic	cicc
31. foot	qeḍ	xeḍe
32. to fill	nind-	nind-
33. to give	ciy-	ci?-
35. green (to ripe)	qe :ne	xê̄na
38. head	kuk	kuk
39. to hear	me :n	men-
41. horn	marg	marag
42. I	e :nu	ēn
44. knee	mu : ke	mūka
45. to know	a :g̣	ax-
46. leaf	a :tg̣e	atxa
50. louse	pe :n	pēn
58. neck	qasr	xeser
59. new	pu : ne	punā
60. night	ma :q	māxa
61. nose	muso	muī
62. no	mala	mala
63. one (persons)	ort	orot
65. to rain	poy-	puyn-
66. red	qe :so	xēso
67. road	pa : w	pāb
72. to see	e :r-	ēr-
74. to sit	ok-	ok-
76. to sleep	qandr-	xandr-
78. smoke	mo :g̣e	mosga
79. to stand	i :l-/ij-	ij-
80. star	bi : nke	binko
83. to swim	o : go-	ōg-
84. tail	qo : li	xola
85. that	a :	ā
86. this	i :	ī
87. you (sg.)	ni :nu	nīn
88. tongue	taṛte	tatxa
89. tooth	pa :l	pall
90. tree	man	mann
91. two (persons)	irw	irb

	Malto	Kurukh
92. to walk	e : k-	ēk-
93. hot	kuṛni	kuṛ-
94. water	am	amm
95. we (excl.)	e :mu	e :m
96. what	indra-	endra-
98. .who	ne : du	ne
99. woman	pel	pello
100. yellow	ba :lkro	bālka

A few more cognates may be added to this list provided the dialectical forms are also taken into consideration. These pairs are :

1. all	orme	ormā
4. belly	koco	kūl
18. dog	ale	allā
37. hand	qequ	xekkha
68. root	pa :de	pāda

But since, I have not attempted to do so, for the reasons stated above, the present rate of retention is 60% and that gives a time depth of approximately 1200 years based on r = 81% for the divergent development of the two languages (See, Swadesh, 1952).

PHONOLOGY

2.1. Phonemic Inventory :

The phonemic inventory consists of 36 segmental and juncture phonemes. The segmentals are further classified into vowels and consonants. The vowels which could be either of short or long duration are treated as single units, i.e., the vowel quantity is not abstracted as separate phoneme.

(i) Vowels :

		Front		Back
High	...	i i:		u u:
Mid	...	e e:		o o:
Low	...		a a:	

(ii) Consonants :

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	Vl.	p	t		ṭ	c	k	q	
	Vd.	b	d		ḍ	j	g		
Nasals		m	n			ñ	ṅ		
Fricatives			đ́	s				g̣	h
Trill				r					
Lateral				l					
Flap					ṛ				
Semi-vowels		w				y			

(iii) Junctures :

Terminal — #
Non-terminal — +

The intonational contours have not been worked out.

2.2. Phonetic Features of the Vowels:

In the phonetic description of the vowels, it may be noted that three degree of height of the tongue are recognised, i.e.,

Close – i, u
Half-close – e, o
Open – a

As regards, the position of the tongue in the production of the vowels, two places are recognised, i.e.,

Front – i, e
Back – u, o, a

As regards the position of the lips three postures are recognised, i.e.,

Spreading – i, e
Neutral – a
Rounding – u, o

As regards the durational feature of the vowels three degrees are recognised,

Short – i, e, a, o, u
Medium – i·, e·, a·, o·, u·
Long – i:, e:, a:, o:, u:

Two other features, voicing and raised position of the velum are inherent in the production of all vowels.

2.3. Phonological Interpretation of the Vowels :

Taking all these phonetic features into consideration, it may be shown that the vowels are located simultaneously on two axes : one horizontal from front to the back of the mouth, and the other vertical, from the floor of the mouth to its roof. The two horizontal points are front and back. The three vertical points are close, half-close and open. The posture of the lips which provides the third dimension is described in three categories, spread, neutral and rounded. The fourth significant dimension for the vowels is durational : short, medium and long.

Phonologically, it is a five-vowel system consisting of two sub-systems, short vowels and the corresponding long vowels. The contrast between these two sub-systems is registered only in the initial syllable of poly-syllabic words. In all other positions, barring the compound words and some poly-syllabic derivative suffixes, the opposition between short and long is lost. The vowels are medium long in the final position and in the second syllable of a three-syllabic word. This feature is predictable from the given environments and is therefore treated as allophone of the corresponding short vowel.

Corresponding to the height of tongue or the degrees of approximation between the tongue and the roof of the mouth, three positions are phonetically described as close, half-close and open and these may be phonologically described as high, mid and low, respectively.

The only other dimension which is relevant for the phonological description of the vowels is the position of the tongue phonetically described as front and back. The redundant features are,

(i) all back vowels except the low vowels are rounded,
(ii) all front vowels are unrounded, and
(iii) with the low vowels, the posture of the lips, i.e., the neutral position and the part of the tongue which is raised, i.e., the back are redundant.

Thus, the vowel system identifies,

(i) two horizontal points, front and back,
(ii) three vertical points, high, mid and low, and
(iii) two degrees of quantity, short and long.

2.4. Phonetic Description of the Vowels :

/i/ – It is a front close vowel. The lips are generally spread. The position of the soft palate is raised and vocal cords are made to vibrate. The vowel is short in the initial syllable of a poly-syllabic word. It occurs in words like, [ina·] - 'to-day', [bise·] - 'poison', [c͡çirpi˙] 'frying pin', [si : mo·ti·] - 'hair parting'.

/i : / – This is the long counterpart of the front unrounded close vowel, but the vowel is pronounced with considerable muscular tension of the tongue. The lips are spread. The length of the vowel is significant in the initial syllable of a poly-syllabic word. It has no other allophone. It occurs in words like [i : me˙] - 'white ant', [ki : ṛe·] - 'hunger'.

/e/ – It is a front half-close vowel and somewhat centralised in its usual pronunciation. The lips are spread. The vowel is relatively short in the initial syallable of a polysyllabic word. It occurs in words like, [eɟ͡ʒdu·]- 'bear', [teho·] - 'his mother', [ti : ge·] - 'monkey', [gande·ke·] - 'sulphur'.

The phoneme has an opener allophone [ɛ], a front half-open vowel. It occurs only after uvular sounds. For example, [qa : qɛ˙] - 'crow', [mo :gɛ˙] - 'smoke'.

/e : / – This is the long counterpart of the front half-close vowel. The length of the vowel is significant in the initial syllable of a poly-syllabic word. It occurs in words like, [e :ṛe·] - 'goat', [te :le·] - 'centipede'.

Like its short counterpart, it has also an opener allophone after the uvular sounds. [qɛ : g̣a·] - 'you buy', [qɛ : na·] - 'you shake'.

/a/ – It is a back open vowel, and somewhat centralised in its usual pronunciation. The lips are neutral. The vowel is relatively short in the initial syllable of a poly-syllabic word. It occurs in words like, [aba·] - 'father', [ḍaḍe·] - 'forest', [ṭaḍa·] - 'mark', [atja˙ri·] -'weapon'.

It has an allophone [ɔ], a half-open central vowel. It occurs only in words of CVC syllabic structure. For example, [nəm] 'we, exclusive', [tɔṅ] - 'his own'.

/a : / – This is the long counterpart of the back open vowel. The length of the vowel is significant in the initial syllable of a poly-syllabic word. [a :ṭo·] - 'fire-place', [ka :c͡çe·] - 'glass'.

/o/ – It is a back half close vowel. The lips are rounded. The vowel is relatively short in the initial syllable of a poly-syllabic word. It occurs in words like, [osgeˑ] - 'mouse', [koheˑ] - 'lion', [toroˑ] - 'mouth', [karoˑneˑ] - 'disease'.

It has an opener allophone [ɔ]. It is a back half-open vowel. It occurs only after uvular sounds. For example, [q ɔ ṭroˑ] - 'blind', [çaṛaˑq ɔˑ] - 'sparrow'.

/o :/ – This is the long counterpart of the back half-close vowel. The length of the vowel is significant in the initial syllable of a poly-syllabic word. For example, [o :poˑ] - 'name of a tree', [go :meˑ] - 'wheat'.

/u/ – It is a back close vowel. The lips are rounded. The vowel is relatively short in the initial syllable of a poly-syllabic word. It occurs in words like [ulaˑ] - 'inside', [gugṛiˑ] - 'dove', [kisduˑ] - 'pig', [kabuˑtreˑ] - 'pigeon'.

/u:/ – This is the long counterpart of back rounded close vowel. The length of the vowel is significant in the initial syallable of a poly-syllabic word. It has no other allophone. The vowel occurs in words like, [u :qɛ̧ˑ] - 'darkness', [ku : meˑ] - 'fish-coop'.

2.5. Phonetic Description of the Consonants:

/p/ – It is a voiceless bilabial stop consonant. In pronouncing the consonant [p], the air passage is completely blocked by closing the lips and then releasing the closure. The soft palate is raised so that no air escapes through the nose. The vocal cords are not made to vibrate. It has no other allophone. The sound occurs in words like, [pu : neˑ] - 'new', [napeˑ] - 'kind of tuber', [ləp] - 'eating'.

/b/ – It is a voiced bilabial stop consonant. The sound [b] is produced with the same articulatory movements as its voiceless counterpart, except that the vocal cords are made to vibrate. It has no other allophone. The sound occurs in words like [bulaˑ] - 'shooting star, meteor', [çabiˑ] - 'key', [kub] - 'much'.

/t/ – It is a voiceless dental stop. In producing the consonant [t], the air passage is completely blocked by raising the soft palate and touching the tip of the tongue against the back of the upper front teeth. The tongue is then removed to release the air. It has no other allophone. The sound occurs in words like, [ta :li·] - 'hair', [keta·] - 'rags', [sət] - 'with'.

/d/ – It is a voiced dental stop. The sound [d] is pronounced with the same articulatory movements as its voiceless counterpart except that the vocal cords are made to vibrate. It has no other allophone. It occurs in words like, [da : ṛi·] - 'beard', [bu : de•] - 'wednesday', [kud] - 'doing'.

/ṭ/ – It is a voiceless retroflex stop. In producing the speech sound [ṭ], the air passage is completely blocked by raising the soft palate and touching the hard palate with the under surface of the tongue tip. The tongue is then removed to release the stop. It occurs in words like, [ṭaka•] - 'money', [kiṭe·] - 'near', [kəṭ] - 'crossing'.

It has a fronted allophone [t̲], an alveolar voiceless stop occurring only after the congener voiceless alveolar sibilant [s]. For example, [kost̲e·] 'difficulty', [gust̲i·] - 'lineage'.

/ḍ/ - It is a voiced retroflex stop. The sound [ḍ] is produced with the same articulatory movements as its voiceless counterpart except that the vocal cords are made to vibrate. The sound occurs in words like, [ḍaḍe•] - 'woods', [kuḍe·] - 'navel', [ḍeḍ] - 'one and a half'.

Initially however, the sound often is an affricate [ḍȡ], due to the slow release of the stop (see, foot-note 1). Due to the composite characteristic

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1 Regarding the release element of the stops Heffner says that - "the release of the stop may be slow, rather than sudden, and in this case the rush of air out of or into the stopped cavity will produce a fricative noise as it impinges upon the surfaces of the slowly increasing opening of the occlusion. Stops which are released in this way are called affricates. They are in effect the stop plus, i.e., released through, the homorganic fricative" (1969, pp.120). Thus, the sound [ḍȡ] is formed bringing the tip of the tongue to touch the hard palate, and then the tongue is removed not too rapidly from the contact point ; at the beginning of the separation there is a plosion and as the separation proceeds the effect of [ȡ] or a 'homorganic fricative r' is audible; the vocal cords are made to vibrate during the production of the sound.

of this sound, it is likely to be mistaken for a cluster of a voiced retroflex stop and a voiced fricative [r]. But such an interpretation will be ruled out for two reasons.

(i) The affricate [ḍɖ] which occurs only word initially freely varies with [ḍ] – a regular stop without any affricative movement.

(ii) It will be the only instant of an initial cluster.

/c/ – It is a voiceless alveo-palatal affricate. In producing the speech sound the air passage is completely blocked by raising the soft palate and raising the blade of the tongue to the alveo-palatal region, and then the tongue is removed not too rapidly from the contact point. When the tongue is removed from the alveo-palatal region the air escapes through the mouth producing the effect of [ç] or a homorganic fricative. The vocal cords are not made to vibrate. The sound may be phonetically transcribed as [c͡ç]. It has no other allophone. It occurs in words like, [c͡çu : we] - 'pea-cock', [kuc͡ço·] - 'dog', [bəc͡ç] - 'snatching'.

/j/ – It is a voiced alveo-palatal affricate. It is produced with the same articulatory movements as its voiceless counterpart except that the vocal cords are made to vibrate. The sound may be phonetically transcribed as [ɟ͡ʝ]. It has no other allophone. It occurs in the following words : [ɟ͡ʝa :gu·] 'rice', [te :ɟ͡ʝe ·] - 'force', [bəɟ͡ʝ] - 'killing'.

/k/ – It is a voiceless velar stop. In producing the speech sound [k] the air is completely blocked by raising the back of the tongue to make contact with the velum. The soft palate being at the same time raised so as to shut off the nose passage. When the contact of the tongue with the velum is released by lowering the tongue, the air escapes through the mouth, and vocal cords are not made to vibrate. It has no other allophone. It occurs in words like : [kete·] - 'field', [di :ke·] - 'much', [mək] - 'sal tree'.

/g/ – It is a voiced velar stop. The sound [g] is produced with the same articulatory movements as its voiceless counterpart, except that the vocal cords are made to vibrate. It has no other allophone. The sound occurs in words like : [ga :đi·] - 'wound', [ḍoga·] - 'chick', [beg] - 'jumping'.

/q/ – It is a voiceless uvular stop. In producing the speech sound [q], the air passage is completely blocked by retracting the back of the tongue as far as the uvula to make a full contact. The soft palate being at the same time raised so as to shut off the nose passage when the contact of the tongue with the uvula is released by lowering the tongue, the air escapes through the mouth. The vocal cords are not made to vibrate. It has no other allophone. It occurs in words like, [qaṭa·] - 'give', [maqç·] - 'boy', [qɔq] - 'behind'.

/m/ – It is a voiced bilabial nasal. The articulation of [m] usually comprises a bilabial closure similar to that made for [b]. The soft palate is lowered so that, when air is emitted it passes out through the nose. The vocal cords are made to vibrate so that voice is produced. It has no other allophone. The sound occurs in words like, [medo·] - 'brain', [c͡ça ː me·] - 'song', [nim] - 'you plural'.

/n/ – It is a voiced alveolar nasal. In producing the speech sound [n], the mouth passage is completely blocked by raising the tip of the tongue to touch the teeth ridge; the soft palate is lowered so that, air passes out through the nose; the vocal cords are made to vibrate. It occurs in words like, [neña·] - 'fat', [done·] - 'wealth', [mən] - 'tree'. The phoneme /n/ has two other allophones:

(i) [n̪] – voiced dental nasal. It is produced with the same articulatory movements as [n], except that the tip of the tongue is raised to touch the upper teeth. The sound occurs only before homorganic stops. For example, [man̪tri] - 'minister', [dan̪dli] - 'rope to hang clothes'.

(ii) [ṇ] – voiced retroflex nasal. It is produced with the same articulatory movements as [n], except that the tip of the tongue is raised to touch the hard palate. The sound occurs only before homorganic stops. For example, [beṇṭi·] - 'knife to cut vegetables', [gaṇḍo·] - 'rhino'.

It may also be noted here that this phoneme is also set up in two or three cases where the phonetic value of it should be interpreted as nasalisation of the preceding vowel rather than a full nasal. The nasalisation of vowels is generally non-contrastive in the dialect under study and therefore is not set up as a suprasegmental phoneme within the overall phonemic system. However, in a few words, the nasalisation apparently contrasts with its absence, i.e., with the oral vowels and also with segmental nasal consonants. This obviously creates a notational problem in representing the nasalised vowels. But, as the occurrence of these nasalised vowels is limited only to two or three words, no attempt is made except giving a rule of thumb that in the following words, /jahon/ - ‘bad’, /jahan/ - ‘also’, /on/ - ‘emphatic particle’, the final /n/ represents the nasalisation of the preceding vowel, rather than a full nasal. It is important to note that words of comparable phonemic structure like, /tehon/ - ‘to the mother’, /qohin/ - ‘I bite’, etc., should not be interpreted according to this rule.

/ñ/ – It is a voiced palatal nasal. In producing the speech sound [ñ] the mouth passage is completely blocked by raising the blade of the tongue to the palatal region; the soft palate is lowered so that air passes out through the nose; the vocal cords are made to vibrate. It has no other allophone. It occurs in words like, [muñe•] - ‘rabit’, [neña•] - ‘fat’.

/ṅ/ – It is a voiced velar nasal. In producing the speech sound [ṅ] the mouth passage is completely blocked by raising the back of the tongue to touch the soft palate; the soft palate is in its lowered position so that air passes out through the nose; the vocal cords are made to vibrate. The sound occurs in words like, [eṅge•] - ‘to me’, [ḍuṅ] - ‘sinking’.

It has an allophone [N] with further back tongue articulation. It is a voiced uvular nasal. It occurs only before the uvular sounds. For example, [ḍo :Nqɛ̣•] - ‘small’, [boNgạ•] - ‘run away’.

/đ/ – It is a voiced dental fricative. In producing the speech sound [đ], the tip of the tongue is brought lightly into contact with the inner surface of the upper teeth, and forcing the air stream to flow over the flat surface of the tongue tip between the front teeth. The position of tongue also tends to be inter-dental rarely. During the production of the sound, the soft palate is in its raised position and the vocal cords are made to vibrate. It has no other allophone. It occurs in words like, [pa :đe] - ‘root’, [ađ] - ‘she’.

Droese’s description of this sound as a “lightly sounded English sharp ‘th’ ” (1884, p.1) is rather ambiguous. The ambiguity has not been cleared even when he offers further comments on the Malto sounds under ‘Remarks to the Malto Vocabulary’. Here too, he merely repeats his earlier description without giving any example from English. Unfortunately, in the English writing system 'th' is two valued as in the words 'thin' and 'there' corresponding to [θ] and [đ] respectively. Therefore, all later works which have to depend on Droese's description of Malto, have retained his notation 'th' without attaching specific phonetic value to it. However, one exception to this general practice is found in Andronov's 'Dravidian Languages', where he specifically uses [đ] with reference to Malto sound system (1970). It is not possible to know if this improvement by Andronov is based upon fresh field investigation or on some other means of deduction. A later work, describes this sound as [θ] and defines it as an "apicodental voiceless fricative pronounced with the tip of the tongue against the edge of the upper teeth" (Das, 1973). This is rather surprising, for even in the Sawria dialect of Malto, on which Das's description is based, the sound in question is invariably a voiced fricative. The only dialect, where the sound is totally lost is in the Kumarbhag dialect and the reflex of this loss is retained by some sort of a hiatus semi-vowel.

/s/ – It is a voiceless alveolar fricative. The sound [s] is articulated by the blade of the tongue against the teeth ridge forming a constriction into which the air is forced through. The soft palate is in its raised position and the vocal cords do not vibrate. It has no other allophone. It occurs in words like, [sona•] - 'gold', [esa•] - 'much', [udis] - 'conferring'.

/g̣/ – It is a voiced uvular fricative. The sound [g̣] is produced by retracting the back of the tongue and by holding it lightly against the uvula. Through this vertically flat uvular constriction air is forced to make a fricative sound. During these articulatory movements the soft palate remains raised and the vocal cords are made to vibrate. It has no other allophone. It occurs in words like, [te :gɛ•] - 'name of a bird', [qɛ̧g̣] - 'buying'.

Droese's description, where the sound is transcribed as (g̣) and said to be pronounced "fuller and deeper from the throat" (1884, p.1) and "much like a Northumbrian r" probably tacitly refers to the fricative character of the sound. But Das describes the sound as a "voiced uvular stop, [G]". Besides the sound being phonetically a fricative, there are further compelling phonological and historical reasons to treat it as a fricative rather than a stop. Its distribution shows that, the sound does not occur initially unlike all other stops. Secondly, the comparative dialect data show that, in the Kumarbhag dialect a glottal stop corresponds to the /q/ of other dialects while a glottal fricative [h] corresponds to the [g̣], thus retaining the fricative nature of the latter.

/h/ – It is a voiceless glottal fricative. In the articulation of the sound [h], the mouth is held in a vowel position and the air is emitted through the wide open glottis producing friction, but without causing the vocal cords to vibrate. It has no other allophone. It occurs in words like, [teho·] - 'his mother', [ah] - 'he'.

/r/ – It is a voiced alveolar trill. The sound [r] is articulated by a rapid succession of the tip of the tongue against the teeth ridge. But the number of taps does not exceed three to four only except rarely. It has no other allophone. It occurs in words like, [ro : ge·] - 'disease', [bara·] - 'come', [ar] - 'they'.

/ṛ/ - It is a voiced retroflex flap. The sound [ṛ] is produced with the same kind of constriction as that required for [r] and contact is made between the under side of the apex of the tongue and the post-alveolar region. It has no other allophone. It occurs in words like, [baṛi·] - 'hand', [ɟ͡ʒəṛ] - 'rain'.

/l/ – It is a voiced alveolar lateral. The sound [l] is articulated by the tip of the tongue touching the teeth ridge. While this contact is made in the middle of the mouth, a passage for air is left on both sides of the tongue. The soft palate is in its raised position and the vocal cords are made to vibrate. It occurs in words like, [lahi·] - 'lac', [mala·] - 'not', [pel] -'woman'.

It has another allophone which might be called a 'dark' [ɫ]. The uvularized colouring of this lateral is due to the concave tongue surface near the post-velar region. The sound occurs only after the uvular sounds. For example, [ti : qɫan] - 'to the rice', [aNg̣ɫa] - 'open your mouth'.

/w/ – It is a voiced bilabial semi-vowel. In pronouncing the sound [w] the speech organs start in position for a close [u] or with close rounded lips and immediately leave for some other position with perceptible jaw movement. The constriction is of the circular type, and the tongue is in a neutral position. The vocal cords are made to vibrate. The sound occurs in words like, [dawa·] - 'opportunity', [buditaw] - 'intelligent'.

It has an allophone [β], a voiced bilabial slit fricative. It occurs only before the high rounded vowels. For example, [qɔᵽu·] - 'one who is carrying on shoulders'.

/y/ – It is a voiced palatal semi-vowel. In pronouncing the sound [j], the speech organs start in position for a close [i] and immediately proceed in the direction of some other vowel. In other words, a constriction is formed for [j], when the tongue blade is raised towards the palatal region, so that its flat upper surface produces a broad channel for the air under the vault of the palate. The vocal cords are made to vibrate. The sound occurs in words like, [doja·] - 'pity' [aj] - 'thus'.

It has another allophone [ǰ], a voiced palatal fricative, which occurs only before the high unrounded vowels. For example, [teǰin] - 'I am sending'

2.6. Phonological Classification of the Consonants :

There are altogether 24 consonant phonemes which may be sub-classified under the following headings, i.e., stops, nasals, fricatives, trill, flap, lateral and semi-vowels.

(1) Stops :– Stops are consonant segments produced by complete closure, accompanied simultaneously by a velic closure. In Malto, these are again of two types, paired and unpaired. For the paired stops, the opposition between voiced and voiceless is significant. The unpaired stop does not have a voiced congener.

The paired stops again are of two types, stops and affricates. The reason for treating affricates as unit phonemes are mainly phonological, i.e., for their distributional patterning in the language. The following reasons may be given for their above treatment.

(i) The affricates exhibit similar distributional patterning as the stop, i.e., occurring initially, medially and finally.

(ii) The pairing of the stops as voiced/voiceless along the dimension of voicing of applicable to the affricates.

(iii) In the clustering behaviour of the consonants, the affricates are like the stops.

The paired stops are made at five contact points, lips, upper teeth, post-alveolar, palate and velum. The unpaired stop is restricted only to the post velar area.

All stops occur initially, medially and finally.

(2) Nasal : The nasals are consonant segments produced by complete closure without simultaneous velic closure. Only four points of contact for the nasals, lips, upper teeth, palate and velum are relevant. Voicing of the nasals is redundant as there is no opposition between voiced and voiceless nasals. Although two other nasals corresponding to retroflex and uvular stops occur in the dialect, these are predictable and are treated as conditioned variants. Of the four nasals, only the labial and the dental nasals occur word initially ; the other two do not. But all the nasals occur medially and finally.

(3) Fricatives : The fricatives are consonant segments produced by close approximation of the articulators, with central passage of the air-stream. These are produced at four places, the upper teeth, teeth ridge, uvula and glottis. Two of these, the dental and the uvular ones are voiced and the alveolar and the glottal ones are voiceless. Although there are two fricatives one voiced and one voiceless produced both at the front and the back parts of mouth, these are not paired. However, in one of the dialects, the fricatives are the most affected consonants as the back fricatives have merged and one of the front fricatives has been lost (See, Chapter- 8).

As regards the distribution of the fricatives, there is a tendency for their non-occurrence in the word initial position. In fact, the voiced fricatives, /đ, g / do not occur word initially. The glottal fricative rarely occurs in the initial position in a few loan words and then freely varies with its absence. For example, [hatiˑ~atiˑ] – 'elephant', [hukmeˑ~ ukmeˑ] – 'order', [huːbeˑ ~ uːbeˑ] – 'Strength, support', [hiraˑ ~ iraˑ] – 'diamond', etc. Due to this free variation no initial occurrence of /h/ is considered significant. Finally, the fricative /s/ occurs quite frequently word initially, except when it is followed by a /t/. Comparative dialect materials show that /s/ followed by /t/ is unstable and is subject to metathesis. Compare for example,

/tisri/ : /sitri/ – 'dew' (derived from borrowed
sit – 'cold')

/tusge/ : /sutge/ – 'lizard' (derived from the root tus or sut - 'to hiss')
/tisg/ : /sitg/ – 'to unbolt a door', etc.

But, even the present dialect, in which the proneness to metathesize is particularly strong, has come to accept many words with /t/ following the /s/. For example,

/satra/ – 'seventeen'
/suta/ – 'thread'
/sat/ – 'with'
/setale/ – 'santals'
/si :te/ – 'cold'
/sa :te/ – 'seven'

All the above words are however, borrowed.

(4) Trill :– The trill is a consonant segment resulting from a stricture of intermittent closure. There is only one consonant of this class produced at the teeth ridge. It is voiced. It occurs in all positions.

(5) Flap :– The flap is a consonant segment produced by an active articulator striking against a passive one. There is only one consonant of this class produced at the post-alveolar region. It is voiced. It occurs in all positions except initially.

(6) Lateral :– The lateral is a consonant segment produced by a stricture of complete closure with lateral passage for the air-stream round the sides of the obstruction. There is only one consonant in this class produced at the teeth ridge. It is always voiced. It occurs in all positions.

(7) Semi-vowels :– The semi-vowels are consonant segments made with central passage of the air-stream and open approximation of the articulators. The sounds are produced with characteristic jaw movement unlike the vowels. The sounds are produced at two places, the lips and the palate. These are voiced sounds. They occur in all positions except word initially.

2.7. List of Contrasting Items :

The following is a list of items which shows the contrast between vowel and consonant segments. The segments are grouped or paired for this purpose with reference to their phonetic similarity, which may otherwise be called phonetically suspect pairs (See, Pike, 1968, p.69).

(1) Vowels :–

Items showing contrasts in the initial position.

(i) Tongue height, unrounded, short : i/e/a
High – /ita/ – 'you divide'
Mid – /eta/ – 'you get down'
Low – /ata/ – 'custard apple'

(ii) Tongue height, rounded, short : u/o
High – /ujin/ – 'I live'
Mid – /ojin/ – 'I measure'

(iii) Tongue height, unrounded, long : i : /e : /a :
High – /i : liđ/ – 'it stands'
Mid – /e : liđ/ – 'it forgets'
Low – /a : liđ/ – 'it gets cleared as water'

(iv) Tongue height, rounded, long : u :/o :
High – /u: jin/ – 'I collect tool'
Mid – /o : jin/ – 'I remove'

(v) Short/long : i/i : , u/u : , e/e : , o/o : , a/a :
High – /ira/ – 'diamond'
/i : ra/ – 'you saw'
/ujin/ – 'I live'
/u: jin/ – 'I collect toll'
Mid – /eṛe/ – 'following'
/e : ṛe/ – 'goat'
/ojin/ – 'I measure'
/o:jin/ – 'I remove'
Low – /aṭo/ – 'tight'
/a : ṭo/ – 'fire-place'

Items showing contrasts in the medial position.

(i) Qualitative contrast between the short vowels

/bita/	– 'span'
/beta/	– 'disease'
/bata/	– 'split bamboo'
/bota/	– 'fibres in a jack fruit'
/buta/	– 'strength'

(ii) Qualitative contrast between the long vowels

High	– /ti: le/	– 'linseed'
Mid	– /te :le/	– 'centipede'
High	– /ku : me/	– 'fish coop'
Mid	– /ko : me/	– 'less'
Mid	– /be : je/	– 'worms in the stomach'
Low	– /ba : je/	– 'hawk'

(iii) Quantitative contrast between the vowels

/nimu/	– 'lemon'
/ni : mu/	– 'you, plural'
/cete/	– 'Sawriya Paharia'
/ce : te/	– 'kind of fish'
/maqdu/	– 'insect'
/ma : qdu/	– 'night'
/kosin/	– 'I convey'
/ko : sin/	– 'I divide'
/cure/	– 'tree resin'
/cu : re/	– kind of bird'

Items showing contrasts in the final position.

It has been already noted that the quantitative opposition between the vowels is lost in the final position. Therefore, the vowel contrast in this position is with reference to the vowel quality only.

/kaṭi/	– 'stick'
/kaṭe/	– 'bed-stead'
/kaṭa/	– 'a measure made of wood or metal'
/kaṭo/	– 'tight'
/kaṭu/	– 'a person who crosses'

(2) Consonants:–

(i) All stops are contrasted along the dimension of voicing except the uvular stop, which does not have a voiced counterpart.

Bilabials :	/pur̥a/	– 'belly'
	/bur̥a/	– 'old man'
Dentals :	/tar̥e/	– 'grinding stone'
	/dar̥e/	– 'animal for sacrifice'
Retroflex :	/t̥ad̥i/	– 'toddy'
	/d̥ad̥i/	– 'female of an animal'
Palatal :	/cata/	– 'umbrella'
	/jata/	– 'grinding stone'
Velar :	/kuwa/	– 'well'
	/guwa/	– 'areca nut'

(ii) The following pairs of stops are contrasted due to nearness in the places of articulation.

t/t̥ :	/topa/	– 'bunch'
	/t̥opa/	– 'drop of liquid'
d/d̥ :	/dole/	– 'group'
	/d̥ole/	– 'drum'
k/q :	/kohin/	– 'I bite'
	/qohin/	– 'I hack'

(iii) The following pairs of consonants are contrasted in these words.

c/s :	/capa/	– 'picture'
	/sapa/	– 'clean'
d/đ :	/ga : de/	– 'dreg'
	/ga : đi/	– 'wound'
g/g̥ :	/ti : ge/	– 'monkey'
	/te : g̥e/	– 'a bird'

(iv) The nasals are contrasted in the following words.

m/n/ñ/ṅ :	/kamcah/	– 'he earned'
	/kuncah/	– 'he threaded'
	/ceñcah/	– 'it smelled (intr.)'
	/suṅcah/	– 'he smelled'

(v) The fricatives are contrasted in the following words.

s/ð	:	/ga :si/	–	'grass'
		/ga :ði/	–	'wound'
g̣/h	:	/a :g̣u/	–	'one who knows'
		/a :hu/	–	'he'

(vi) The following consonants are contrasted in these words.

r/ṛ	:	/barið/	–	'she is coming'
		/baṛið/	–	'the hand'
r/l	:	/lahri/	–	'popped rice'
		/rahṛi/	–	'kind of pulse'

(vii) The semi-vowels are contrasted with their absence in the following words.

/naynde/	–	'an earthn pot'
/nande/	–	'you do'
/batwa/	–	'kind of edible greens'
/bata/	–	'split bamboo'

2.8. Juncture :

Malto utterances consist of two distinct types of juncture which are called terminal and non-terminal. The terminal juncture, / # / appears automatically at the sentence boundary. This juncture is phonetically realised as 'pause', and is coterminus with terminal contours.

The other juncture or the non-terminal juncture, transcribed, / + / may be called the 'formative boundary'. The following reasons are advanced in favour of positing this phoneme, which is phonetically unrealised.

(i) When the formative boundary is lost some words may show certain phonological changes.

/ik + ḍe/	––	/igḍe/	–	'where'
/i: + leko/	––	/ilko/	–	'like this'
/a : + leko/	––	/alko/	–	'like that'

(ii) The variant position of / + / is significant in a word.

/u: + qeniđ/ – 'look, that is not ripe'
/u:qe + niđ/ – 'it will get dark'

(iii) Certain prosodic features which are carried over syllable boundaries are interrupted when intervened by a formative boundary. For example, the prosody of retroflexion is carried over syllable boundary when the syllable boundary does not coincide with formative boundary. When a word consists of a retroflex stop in one of the syllables, the adjoining syllable must also have a retroflex stop and never a dental. For example,

/ṭeṭu/ – 'hand'
/ṭaḍu/ – 'wooden ladle'
/ḍaḍe/ – 'forest'
/ḍanḍa/ – 'staff', etc.

Compare the following words with the intervening formative boundary.

/kaṭ + tan/ – 'I crossed'
/piṭ + tan/ – 'I killed'
/kaṭ + dah/ – 'he is crossing'
/ṭu:ḍ + du/ – 'tiger'
/tań + ḍo/ – 'his brother', etc.

(iv) The long vowels do not occur in consecutive syllables and beyond the initial syllable in a word, but they may occur when intervened by a formative boundary. For example,

/bo:l + ta:we/ – 'strong man'
/ba:ṛi + ta:ni/ – 'unpolluted food', etc.

(v) The uvular phonemes /q, g̣/ do not occur before the high vowels unless preceded by the formative boundary. For example,

/toq + in/ – 'I break'
/cirq + u/ – 'one who shouts'
/qe:g̣ + in/ – 'I buy'
/a:g̣ + u/ – 'one who knows', etc.

2.9. Phonotactics :

Phonotactics, as defined by Hill "is essentially a description of the distribution of phonemes, once they have been identified" (1958, p.68). Although the segmentals, i.e., the vowels and the consonants are defined phonetically, functionally a vowel is that segment which fills the nucleus spot of a syllable and therefore by definition is a syllabic. Similarly, a consonant which fills the marginal spot in a syllable is by definition a non-syllabic. The semi-vowels which may or may not contrast with the vowels fall under the general heading of non-syllabics.

The syllable in Malto may be defined as constituting a peak of prominence. In other words, the peaks of syllables are identical with the peaks of sonority. The following is a description of the distribution of the phonemes within a syllable.

(i) The phonotactic limitations with reference to the velars (excluding the nasals) and the uvulars. A syllable consisting of a velar must have a velar and never a uvular and vice versa.

/kukdu/	–	'head'
/kurktan/	–	'I was writing'
/kagte/	–	'paper'
/gugṛi/	–	'dove'

Similarly,

/qoq/	–	'behind'
/qaṛq/	–	'bitter'
/qaq pu :ndu/	–	'kind of beads'
/qeqldu/	–	'earth'
/qegṛ/	–	'to bend head'

(ii) The above phonotactic rule also applies to consecutive syllables except when the syllables are intervened by the formative boundary.

/kake/	–	'comb'
/kakaṛi/	–	'ribs'
/goga/	–	'stone'

Similarly,

/qa : qe/	–	'crow'
/qoṛqid/	–	'it cackles'
/qe : g̣in/	–	'I buy'

(iii) The phonotactic limitations with reference to the retroflex and the dental stops. A syllable consisting of a retroflex stop must have a retroflex and never a dental stop and vice versa.

/ti : tra/	–	'bater bird'
/ta : tr/	–	'sickle'

Similarly,

/ṭuṭwa/	–	'leper'
/ṭuṭṛi/	–	'butt end of a cigar'
/ṭu : ḍ/	–	'tiger'
/ḍeḍ/	–	'one and a half'

(iv) The above phonotactic rule also applies to consecutive syllables except when the syllables are intervened by the formative boundary.

/ta : to/	–	'weaver'
/taṛte/	–	'tongue'
/to:totri/	–	'quickly', /dudu/ – 'mother'

Similarly,

/ṭeṭu/	–	'hand'
/ṭaḍa/	–	'mark'
/ḍaḍe/	–	'woods'
/ḍanḍa/	–	'staff'

(v) Phonotactic limitations in the occurrence of velar stops. If a CVC.. syllable has a voiced velar onset it cannot have a voiceless velar coda, i.e., * gVk type syllables do not occur.

(vi) Phonotactic limitations in the occurrence of palatal stops. If a

CVC.. syllable has a voiced palatal onset it cannot have a voiceless palatal coda, i.e., * jVc type syllables do not occur.

(vii) A CVC syllable with /r/ onset cannot have an identical coda, i.e., rVr type syllables do not occur.

2.9.1. Clusters:

A cluster may be defined as a sequence of two or more phonemes of the same class, i.e., the vowels and the consonants, without the intervention of a phoneme of another class, including the non-terminal juncture.

In Malto, vowels do not cluster, i.e., there is no word of (C)VV(C..) structure. When two vowels are made contiguous at the boundary between two morphemes, consonantal gliding results and the phenomenon is described under the morphophonemics.

As per the clustering habits of the consonants the following observations are made.

(1) There are no initial clusters in Malto. Only two words, both of which are borrowed, form exception to this general rule. These words are, /prani/ - 'life', and /praja/ - 'tenant'.

(2) In the medial position various types of consonantal clusters occur of which the cluster of two consonants is most common. According to the present treatment the geminated consonants are not treated as clusters, as such sequences are always intervened by the non-terminal juncture. In the Sawriya dialect however, in the intervocalic position most of the consonants are slightly long, but this length is non-contrastive and should be treated as allophonic. As this fact is not fully appreciated by Droese and Das, their transcription fails to distinguish between the geminated consonants and the phonetically long consonants. For example, Droese's abba - 'father', aḍḍa - 'house', ayya - 'mother', etc., are in a completely different level from such geminated consonants like, maqqi - 'of the girl', kappe - 'touched', unisso - 'nineteen hundred', etc. In the former group of words, the long consonants are phonologically non-contrastive while in the latter group the long consonants contrast with corresponding single consonants. Lack of appreciation of this fact by these authors has led to indifferent transcription

and some confusion.

According to my data, the consonants /p, t, d, c, k, q, n, l, s, (r)/ may occur as geminated sequences. These sequences, invariably intervened by the formative boundary, contrast with corresponding single consonants.

pp	/lappo/	'the thing eaten'
	/qepo/	'villager'
tt	/attan/	'I wore'
	/atan/	'I shall wear'
dd	/kuddah/	'he is doing'
	/kuda/	'you do'
cc	/puccah/	'he enquired'
	/puci/	'undressed'
kk	/tukkah/	'he having pushed'
	/tuka/	'you push'
qq	/qe :qqah/	'he having bought'
	/ma :qa/	'at night'
nn	/manno/	'in the tree'
	/ano/	'there'
ll	/e :lle/	'not having forgotten'
	/e:le/	'having forgotten'
ss	/unesso/	'nineteen hundred'
	/e :so/	'this year'

The following list gives all two consonant clusters in five groups. Of the 576 possible clusters, nearly 232 clusters actually occur in the data. These are,

(i)	(S)top + Stop	11 x 11 = 121 possibilities/23 actual occurrences.
	S + (N)asal	11 x 4 = 44/12
	S + (F)ricative	11 x 4 = 44/9
	S + (L)iquid	11 x 3 = 33/30 (See, foot-note 2)
	S + (S)emi-(V)owel	11 x 2 = 22/17

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[2] In order to show the clustering habit of the consonants /r, l, r/ are treated as liquids.

(ii) F + S – 4 x 11 = 44/13
F + N – 4 x 4 = 16/3
F + F – 4 x 4 = 16/4
F + L – 4 x 3 = 12/9
F + SV – 4 x 2 = 8/6

(iii) N + S – 4 x 11 = 44/16
N + N – 4 x 4 = 16/2
N + F – 4 x 4 = 16/6
N + L – 4 x 3 = 12/7
N + SV – 4 x 2 = 8/4

(iv) L + S – 3 x 11 = 33/27
L + N – 3 x 4 = 12/9
L + F – 3 x 4 = 12/7
L + L – 3 x 3 = 9/4
L + SV – 3 x 2 = 6/6

(v) SV + S – 2 x 11 = 22/10
SV + N – 2 x 4 = 8/1
SV + F – 2 x 4 = 8/2
SV + L – 2 x 3 = 6/5
SV + SV – 2 x 2 = 4/1

It is clear from this break up that high incidence of clusters involving the liquids and the semi-vowels in both the positions is the most characterising feature of the cluster formation. It is also to be noted that there are few systematic gaps which have special bearing upon the clustering habits of the consonants. Most of the gaps are accidental. The palatal nasal /ñ/ does not occur as the second member of a cluster; and single instance of /đ, h/ in that position are rare combinations. The velar stops do not cluster with the uvulars and the nasals /n, ñ/ do not occur before /r/. When these phonemes come together, certain assimilation or insertion of consonants result. These are adequately treated under the section morphophonemics.

The following table lists all the two consonant medial clusters. The consonants listed in the vertical axis represent the first consonants of clusters and those listed in the horizontal axis represent the second consonant.

	p	b	t	d	t̥	d̥	c	j	k	g	q	m	n	ñ	ṅ	đ	s	g̥	h	r	l	r̥	w	y
p			pt		pt̥		pc										ps			pr	pl	pr̥	pw	py
b							bc	bj					bn							br	bl	br̥		by
t										tg			tn					tg̥		tr	tl	tr̥	tw	ty
d										dg	dq	dm	dn					dg̥		dr	dl	dr̥	dw	dy
t̥									t̥k	t̥g			t̥n		t̥ṅ		t̥s	t̥g̥		t̥r	t̥l	t̥r̥	t̥w	t̥y
d̥									d̥k	d̥g								d̥g̥		d̥r			d̥w	d̥y
c									ck	cg	cq	cm	cn					cg̥		cr	cl	cr̥	cw	cy
j													jn							jr	jl			jy
k			kt		kt̥							km	kn				ks			kr	kl	kr̥	kw	ky
g			gt	gd		gd̥	gc	gj					gn				gs			gr	gl	gr̥		gy
q			qt																	qr	ql	qr̥		
m		mb			mt̥	md̥	mc	mj			mq		mn				ms			mr	ml	mr̥		my
n	np			nd	nt̥	nd̥			nk	ng	nq					nđ	ns	ng̥			nl		nw	ny
ñ								ñj																
ṅ					ṅt̥	ṅd̥					ṅq		ṅn				ṅs	ṅg̥		ṅr	ṅl	ṅr̥		ṅy
đ									đk	đg	đq							đg̥		đr			đw	đy
s			st		st̥				sk	sg	sq	sm	sn					sg̥		sr	sl	sr̥	sw	sy
g̥					g̥t̥		g̥c													g̥r	g̥l			
h		hb	ht					hj					hn		hṅ		hs			hr	hl	hr̥	hw	hy
r	rp	rb	rt	rd			rc	rj	rk	rg	rq	rm	rn		rṅ		rs	rg̥			rl	rr̥	rw	ry
l	lp	lb	lt	ld	lt̥		lc		lk	lg	lq	lm	ln		lṅ		ls	lg̥	lh	lr			lw	ly
r	r̥p	r̥b	r̥t	r̥d			r̥c		r̥k	r̥g	r̥q	r̥m	r̥n		r̥ṅ		r̥s	r̥g̥			r̥l		r̥w	r̥y
w				wd		wd̥		wj	wk	wg	wq		wn				ws	wg̥		wr	wl	wr̥		wy
y			yt	yd	yt̥				yk											yr	yl			

Examples:

p + t, ṭ, c, s, r, l, ṛ, w, y

apta	–	‘week’
capṭa	–	‘palm’
kopca	–	‘wrist’
popsa	–	‘lungs’
capri	–	‘small shed’
kapli	–	‘species of deer’
popṛa	–	‘hollow’
cepwa	–	‘jackdaw’
ṭopyid	–	‘it trickles’

b + c, j, n, r, l, r, y

ḍubci	–	‘earthen pot’
kobjesin	–	‘I control’
gabni	–	‘pregnant’
kobre	–	‘news’
koblarin	–	‘I admit’
tebṛe	–	‘lips’
ḍibya	–	‘lamp’

t + g, n, g̣, r, l, ṛ, w, y

putgi	–	‘a small fly’
ketndu	–	‘winnowing basket’
potg̣e	–	‘foam’
tu: tro	–	‘hole’
tetli	–	‘tamarind’
botṛa	–	‘blund’
batwa	–	‘a kind of greens’
atyari	–	‘weapons’

d + g, q, m, n, g̣, r, l, ṛ, w, y

cadge	–	‘moss’
mudqe	–	‘anus’

kodme	‘a tree’
kodna	‘tattoo’
adgi	‘ginger’
mu̇dra	‘face’
badli	‘cloud’
badṛi	‘bat’
adwa	‘incomplete’
jidya	‘arrogant’

ṭ + k, g, n, ṅ, s, g̣, r, l, ṛ, w, y

ṭaṭka	‘fresh’
aṭge	‘near’
caṭni	‘pickle’
koṭṅi	‘corner of the house marked for rituals’
poṭso	‘buds of jack fruit’
ṭa :ṭg̣e	‘mango’
qoṭro	‘blind’
kuṭli	‘clitoris’
ceṭṛo	‘sparrow’
kaṭwi	‘falcon’
poṭya	‘kind of fish’

ḍ + k, g, g̣, r, w, y

ḍuḍka	‘pot bellied’
aḍgare	‘wolf’
oḍge	‘foot prints’
leḍra	‘left’
neḍware	‘lover’
buḍya	‘woman’

c + k, g, q, m, n, g̣, r, l, ṛ, w, y

acka	‘accidentally’
pacge	‘old man’
icqoṭe	‘getting oneself freed’
kacmi	‘turtle’
mucne	‘year after next’

icgond – ‘perhaps’
bacri – ‘year’
macli – ‘stool’
kocṛa – ‘mahwa nuts’
kocwa – ‘pocket’
pucyin – ‘I am asking’

j + n, r, l, y

kajna – ‘tax’
bajra – ‘millet’
bijli – ‘lightning’
majye – ‘chief’

k + t, ṭ, m, n, s, r, l, ṛ, w, y

sokti – ‘power’
sukṭi – ‘dried fish’
ukme – ‘order’
makne – ‘butter’
boksa – ‘box’
sukre – ‘friday’
takli – ‘spindle’
pakṛa – ‘wing’
pakwa– – ‘hairy’
pakya – ‘butterfly’

g + t, d, ḍ, c, j, n, s, r, l, ṛ, y

kagte – ‘paper’
agdu – ‘in front of’
bagḍe – ‘shank’
bagca – ‘garden’
igjo – ‘true’
pagne – ‘name of a month’
ugsa – ‘fasting’
ḍagraha – ‘bad’
pagla – ‘mad’
jagṛa – ‘feud’
cagyo – ‘a fruit’

q + t, r, l, ṛ

qaqto	–	‘ring’
inqrese	–	‘coughing meaningfully’
naglo	–	‘kind of mushroom’
te :qṛi	–	‘needle’

m + b, ṭ, ḍ, c, j, q, n, s, r, l, ṛ, y

simbi	–	‘pod bean’
cimṭa	–	‘tongs’
camḍe	–	‘skin’
gamca	–	‘napkin’
samjare	–	‘understanding’
cumqe	–	‘kissing’
samne	–	‘front’
tamsa	–	‘opera’
pomro	–	‘deaf’
amle	–	‘time’
bamṛe	–	‘brahmin’
samye	–	‘time’

n + p, d, t, d, k, g, q, d, s, g, l, w, y

jinpe	–	‘shining’
sonda	–	‘kind of grass’
benṭi	-	‘knife’
benḍu	–	‘coil’
bi : nke	–	‘star’
bangi	–	‘toll collector’
minqo	–	‘mosquito’
ce :nde	–	‘transporting’
jinse	–	‘things’
tunge	–	‘gathering’
janla	–	‘window’
bonwa	–	‘tom cat’
panye	–	‘cold’

ñ + j

beñje	–	‘wedding’

ṅ + ṭ, ḍ, q, n, s, g̣, r, l, ṛ, y

aṅṭi – 'ring'
goṅḍi – 'squirrel'
ḍo : ṅqe – 'snail'
ṭaṅni - 'gong'
ḍeṅso – 'exaggerated'
leṅg̣e – 'hook-worms'
koṅro – 'hollow tree trunk'
siṅla – 'kind of tuber'
leṅṛa – 'lame'
maṅye – 'begging'

d + k, g, q, g̣, r, w, y

udke – 'boring hole'
ba : dgi – 'side'
podqi – 'soft'
todg̣e – 'fainting'
cedro – 'liver'
qedwa – 'to the ear'
pudye – 'pouring'

s + t, ṭ; k, g, q, m, n, g̣, r, l, ṛ, w, y

sasta – 'cheap'
kosṭe – 'difficulty'
muskile – 'difficulty'
basgo – 'a plant'
mesqaḍor – 'son's wife'
dusmane – 'enemy'
nasni – 'garlic'
qosg̣e – 'thigh'
pusre – 'a tree'
posle – 'harvest'
sasṛi – 'mother-in-law'
eswe – 'farming'
basye – 'settling down'

g̣ + ṭ, c, r, l

cag̣ṭe	–	'jumping'
neg̣ce	–	'breathing'
meg̣ro	–	'eldest son'
bag̣li	–	'barren'

h + b, t, j, n, ń, s, r, l, ṛ, w, y

sahbe	–	'white man'
sohti	–	'pants'
mahjane	–	'money lender'
rohni	–	'name of a festival'
bahńi	–	'carrying pole'
sa : hse	–	'bravery'
sahre	–	'town'
mahle	–	'building'
ahṛe	–	'hunting'
mahwa	–	'a tree'
lohya	–	'iron pan'

r + p, b, t, d, c, j, k, g, q, m, n, ń, s, g̣, l, ṛ, w, y

cirpi	–	'frying pin'
purbe	–	'east'
ortu	–	'one'
porda	–	'lotus flower'
marci	–	'chilli'
korja	–	'debt'
carka	–	'spinning wheel'
arge	–	'rising'
turqe	–	'owl'
darme	–	'virtue'
jarna	–	'stream'
sirńe	–	'jingling'
sa : rso	–	'mustard'
barge	–	'snoring'
surli	–	'flute'
garṛi	–	'kind of wild seeds'

sarwe	–	'small'
sa : rye	–	'friend'

l + p, b, t, d, ṭ, c, k, g, q, m, n, ṅ, s, g̣, h, r, w, y

kulpe	–	'lock'
silbare	–	'aluminium'
alta	–	'liquid red'
kaldi	–	'plantain'
lalṭene	–	'lantern'
elcu	–	'coward'
ba : lke	–	'turmeric'
salga	–	'a bird'
melqe	–	'throat'
kolme	–	'pen'
palna	–	'certain'
dolṅe	–	'shaking'
alsi	–	'sweat'
balge	–	'patting'
ṭilha	–	'raised ground'
qolro	–	'leaf umbrella'
alwi	–	'light'
dalya	–	'thick'

ṛ + p, b, t, d, c, k, g, q, m, n, ṅ, s, g̣, l, w, y

aṛpa	–	'honey comb'
aṛbaṛare	–	'hurrying'
taṛte	–	'tongue'
baṛdi	–	'cattle'
na : ṛca	–	'a plant'
saṛke	–	'road'
neṛge	–	'bedbug'
qaṛqe	–	'bitter'
kaṛme	–	'waist'
kuṛni	–	'hot'
duṛṅe	–	'thundering'
baṛsi	–	'fishing rod'
qoṛg̣o	–	'vegetable green'

paṛlo	–	‘crack’
baṛwa	–	‘eyebrow’
loṛya	–	‘globular’

w + d, ḍ, j, k, g, q, n, s, g̣, r, l, ṛ, y

sawda	–	‘shopping’
cawḍa	–	‘portion’
ewja	–	‘having got lost’
bawka	–	‘edge’
cawga	–	‘jaw’
ḍawqi	–	‘wave’
bawna	–	‘worry’
awse	–	‘sinking the belly’
awg̣e	–	‘baking’
bawri	–	‘wasp’
newla	–	‘mongoose’
cuwṛa	–	‘beaten rice’
ca :wye	–	‘covering’

y + t, d, ṭ, k, r, l

saytane	–	‘rouge’
moydeno	–	‘among’
payṭi	–	‘work’
saykile	–	‘bicycle’
koyri	–	‘cuckoo’
payla	–	‘first’

Three Consonant Clusters :–

The number of three consonant clusters are relatively small in Malto. In no case, a three consonant cluster occurs beyond the second syllable in a word, that is, all these clusters are formed in the inter-syllabic position of the first and the second syllable. These clusters fall into two distinct types, clusters involving homorganics and others. The homorganics may either be followed or preceded by the third consonant.

(i) Homorganics followed by the third consonant.

mb + r, l, ṛ, y

ḍumbri	–	'fig'
emble	–	'tasteless'
simbṛi	–	'silk cotton tree'
cumbyo	–	'kind of tuber'

nd + k, g̣, r, l, ṛ, w

bondke	–	'gun'
cindga	–	'mango kernel'
pandra	–	'fifteen'
dandli	–	'rope to hang clothes'
kandṛe	–	'feud'
andwara	–	'going blind'

nḍ + g, r, ṛ, y

panḍgo	–	'kind of tuber'
munḍro	–	'burning wood'
manḍṛi	–	'viper'
ranḍye	–	'widower'

ñj + p, q, r, l, ṛ, w

qañjpe	–	'fruit'
iñjqade	–	'orphan'
pañjri	–	'ribs'
guñjli	–	'kind of grain'
iñjraqe	–	'skink'
gañjwa	–	'purse'

ṅg̣ + d, j, l

eṅg̣de	–	'clearing weeds'
ceṅg̣je	–	'taking pity'
aṅg̣le	–	'opening mouth'

(ii) Homorganics preceded by a consonant.

ṛ + mb
h, y + nd
h + nḍ

kaṛmba	–	'kind of vegetable green'
mehndi	–	'colouring substance'
naynde	–	'earthen ware'
gahnḍi	–	'crowd'

(iii) Other kinds of clusters

drg -	gidrgini	–	'filthy'
drm -	kudrmi	–	'jute plant'
ṭgl -	ku :ṭgle	–	'hoop in a mouse trap'
mgl -	tumgla	–	'to the dream'
mql -	mamqler	–	'uncle and nephew'
nql -	manqler	–	'co-wives'
ndy -	gindye	–	'cutting unevenly'
str -	mistry	–	'mason'
sgn -	Isgna	–	'to the oil'
sgl -	esglaṛe	–	'kind of centipede'
srṛ -	kusrṛi	–	'kind of owl'
hṛy -	pahṛya	–	'paharia'
lkr -	ilkra	–	'to the berry'
ln̂r -	tiln̂ra	–	'to the fly'
ṛpl -	juṛpla	–	'to the bush'
ṛky -	ḍaṛkya	–	'kind of fish'
ṛql -	be :ṛqler	–	'brother-in-law'
wqr -	a :wqra	–	'to the steam'

Four Consonantal Clusters :–

Only a handful of four consonant clusters occur in my data, and these clusters are invariably formed on homorganics. For example,

mbql -	dumbqli	–	'globular'
mḅrṛ -	tumbrṛa	–	'bumble bee'

nḍql -	unḍqler	—	'siblings'
nḍrk -	menḍrko	—	'husband's younger brother'
ñjql -	jañjqla	—	'to the fruit fibers'

(3) Final Clusters: In Malto it is very difficult to make any categorical statement about the occurrence of clusters in the word final position. Because, almost all words when cited in isolation end in open syllables. But in sentences, final vowels are usually dropped and words often end with a closed syllable. For example,

/ṭu : ḍdu/ - 'tiger' becomes /ṭ̥u: dd barid/ - 'the tiger is coming'
/isg̥ndu/ - 'oil', /isgnd tundgrad/ - 'the oil got spilled'
/kar̥me/ - 'waist', /kar̥m ḍô :ra/ - 'waist band'
/melqe/ - 'throat', /melq mo :cu/ - 'cut-throat'
/keype/ - 'dead', /keyp maleh/ - 'dead man'
/pa :nonde/ - 'one', /pa :nond kata/ - 'one story'
/ondra/ - 'having brought', /a :h ondr ondr cicah/ - 'he gave having brought'
/palca/ - 'having cut', /e :n kanka palc palc bistan/ - 'I was selling wood having cut it'

These examples show that all classes of bases without the usual vowel endings may occur in sentences. Therefore, no further attempt is made to list the final clusters.

2.10. Syllable :

A syllable is a sound or succession of sounds uttered with a single breath-impulse. Every Malto word contains as many syllables as it has vowels. A general formula for Malto syllabic structure can be given, following Abercrombie's notation as $C_{0-1}V$ C_{0-4} (1968, p.75). The subscript figures here indicate the possibilities in terms of number of elements for that place of syllable structure. Thus, C_{0-4} means that there can be anything from no to four C elements in place 3 of the syllable. Similarly, C_{0-1} means that there can be no to only one consonant in place 1. However, the above structure is strictly limited to the initial syllable of a word. In the non-initial position only one other type occurs, of the structure CVC_{0-1}. When a syllable occurs in isolation, that is as a mono-syllabic word, it is possible that the place 3 may have C_{0-5} number of elements, i.e., /jañjqlḋ/. But this is the only example of its kind. The following syllables may occur in isolation.

V – /a/ – 'that'
VC – /aḋ/ – 'she'
VCC – /amḋ/ – 'the water'
VCCC – /oṛgḋ/ – 'the house'
VCCCC – /aẘqrḋ/ – 'the moisture'
CV – /je/ – 'that'
CVC – /nin/ – 'you, sg.'
CVCC – /minḋ/ – 'the fish'
CVCCC – /mang̣ḋ/ – 'the buffalo'
CVCCCC – /tiln̊rḋ/ – 'the fly'
CVCCCCC – /jañjqlḋ/ – 'the fruit fiber'

It may be noted that the V, and CV syllables are restricted to the pronouns and particles only.

2.10.1. Syllable Division :

(i) The rules of syllable division is that a single consonant goes with the following vowel, as in :

/a - ta/	–	'custard apple'
/ba - ṛi/	–	'hand'
/na - min/	–	'I am scolding', etc.

(ii) In the case of two or more consonants the division falls before the last consonant, i.e.,

/gan - ḍi/	–	'body'
/man - no/	–	'in the tree'
/muṛs - to/	–	'masculine'
/isg̣n - du/	–	'oil'
/tundg̣ - raḋ/	–	'it got spilled'

2.11. Morphophonemics:

(1) Internal Morphophonemic Alternations

$$\text{(i)}\ \begin{bmatrix} q \\ \underset{\cdot}{g} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \text{-k} \longrightarrow [\text{qq}]$$

This rule applies to morphemes beginning with /k/, i.e., the genitive -ki, and participle markers /-ka/, /-ko/, when juxtaposed to morphemes ending in uvulars. For example,

/maq - ki/ → /maqqi/ – 'of the insect'
/mang - ki/ → /manqqi/ – 'of the buffalo'
/toq - kah/ → /toqqah/ – 'having plucked'

/qe :g̣ - kah/ → /qe :qqah/ – 'having bought'

$$\text{(ii)}\ \begin{bmatrix} n \\ \tilde{n} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{-r} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{ndr} \\ \tilde{\text{n}}\text{jr} \end{bmatrix}$$

This rule applies to morphemes beginning with /r/, i.e., the adjectival /-ro/, and the reflexive /-r/, when juxtaposed to morphemes ending in dental and palatal nasals. For example,

/me : n - r/ → /mendr/ – 'to be audible'
/qe : n - r/ → /qe : ndr/ – 'to shake' (intrans.)
/ceñ - ro/ → /ceñjro/ – 'smelling'
/kuñ - ro/ → /kuñjro/ – 'thrown'

$$\text{(iii)}\ [\dot{\text{n}}] \Big/ \text{-V} \longrightarrow [\dot{\text{n}}\text{g}]$$

This rule applies to all morphemes ending in /ṅ/. The [-ṅ] alternates with [ṅg] when followed by a vowel.

/niṅ - e/ → [niṅge] – 'to you'
/eṅ - e/ → [eṅge] – 'to me'
/ḍuṅ - a/ → [ḍuṅga] – 'having sunk'
/oṅ - a/ → [oṅga] – 'having finished'

(iv) [i] / -V → [y]

/i/ alternates with /y/ when followed by a vowel.

/kaṭi - ond/ → /kaţyond/ – 'one long thing'
/muṭi - ond/ → /muţyond/ – 'one hold'
/patli - ond/ → /patlyond/ – 'one pot-full'

(v) [đ] / -đ –– ∅

/đ/ alternates with O when followed by a đ.

/me : đ - đ/ → /me :đ/ – 'the body'

(vi) Distinctive vowel length in a polysyllabic word becomes phonologically non-distinctive when the base becomes monosyllabic. These bases will be marked morphophonemically long. Therefore, whenever monosyllabic words are marked long it will be read as morphophonemic.

In case of -e ending nouns :

/mu : dqe/ → /mu : dq do :wle/ – 'buttock'
/mu : qe/ → /mu : q ce :ṭe/ – 'tadpole'
/bi :nke/ → /bi : nk ni :ṛe/ – 'star light'
/ma :ṛe/ → /ma :ṛ madṛi/ – 'whirl wind'
/cu :we/ → /cu : w mo :ri/ – 'peacock feather'

In case of -du ending nouns :

/ṭu : ḍdu/ → /ṭu: ḍ kaṛi/ – 'tiger din'
/be :rdu/ → /be : r eto/ – 'sunset'
/na : ddu/ → /na : d ma :k/ – 'sacrificial meat'

In case of pronouns :

/a :hu/ → /a :h/ – 'he'
/ni : nu/ → /ni : n/ – 'you, sg.'
/e : mki/ → /e : m/ – 'we, excl.'

In case of verbs :

/e :kin/	→	/e :k/	–	'having gone'
/qe :g̣in/	→	/qe :g̣/	–	'having bought'

(2) External Morphophonemic Alternations

(i) A word-final /..C/ occasionally alternates with /..Cu/ when it occurs in phrase or sentence final position. This rule is limited to the class of pronouns only.

/e :n/	→	/e :nu/	–	'I'
/ni :n/	→	/ni : nu/	–	'you, sg.'
/a : h/	→	/a : hu/	–	'he'
/a :d/	→	/a : du/	–	'she., it'
/e :m/	→	/e : mu/	–	'we, excl.'
/na :m/	→	/na : mu/	–	'we, incl.'
/ni : m/	→	/ni : mu/	–	'you, pl.'
/a :r/	→	/a :ru/	–	'they'

(ii) A word-final /..C/ alternates with /..Cdu/ when elicited in isolation or occurs in phrase or sentence final positions. The rule applies to a particular sub-class of nouns and to the interrogative pronoun /indr-/.

/ṭu : d/	→	/ṭu : ḍdu/	–	'tiger'
/qep/	→	/qepdu/	–	'village'
/oṛg̣/	→	/oṛg̣du/	–	'house'
/isg̣n/	→	/isg̣ndu/	–	'oil'
/indr/	→	/indrdu/	–	'what'

Similar type of rules which are given for Konda, is explained as a "recent innovation through diffusion from Telugu, in which many words end in a non-morphemic /u/, and which is the second or the third language of most of the Konḍa Doras of Aruku valley" (Krishnamurti, 1969, pp.214). But so much explanation can be given for Malto.

(iii) In some words, when two vowels come together, the hiatus is filled by an intrusive /h/.

/ṭunḍo - orgin/	→	/ṭunḍo-h-orgin/	–	'till I see'

/argo - orgin/ → /argo-h-orgin/ – 'till I climb'
/maqe - on/ → /maqe-h-on/ – 'the boy too'
/raːja - on/ → /raːja-h-on/ – 'the king too'
/maːlikini-i/ → /maːlikini-h-i/ – 'the very mistress'
/taṅg̣adi - i/ → /taṅg̣adi-h-i/ – 'the very daughter'

The rules for internal morphophonemic alternations are not exhaustively treated here to avoid cross-reference. These will be treated under the morphology of different word classes.

CHAPTER 3

NOUN

3.1. Nouns :

Nouns are a class of words whose bases can be inflected for gender, number or case. There are also a few subsidiary criteria by which the nouns can be identified, i.e., the noun classifiers.

3.2. Gender and Number :

Emeneau recognises four types of Gender systems for Dravidian languages, and he includes Malto with a question mark to the third type, i.e., "a type with different forms for male person sg., person pl., female person and non-person sg. (i.e., sg. denoting anything other than a male person), non-person pl." (Emeneau, 1961, p.148). This would give us a system of -

(i) male person singular
(ii) female person and non-person singular
(iii) person plural
(iv) non-person plural.

This system is over-differentiated unless the 'non-person plural' is taken as unmarked. Excepting a small dialect area, where there is overt pronominal reference to the non-person plural' (See, Chapter 8), Malto has two genders, masculine and non-masculine. All nouns in the nominative singular are marked for genders. Nouns denoting male persons belong to the masculine gender ; other nouns - denoting female persons and non-persons belong to the non-masculine gender. In the plural, the gender difference is made along a different semantic dimension, i.e., the classification of nouns in plural is based on the dimension of 'person/non-person' opposition.

The masculine in singular is realized as /-h/. For example,

male - h	–	'man'
gole - h	–	'a Hindu man'

musle - h	–	'a Muslim man'
taṅgade - h	–	'son'
ike - h	–	'who'

The non-masculine in singular is realized as /-đ/.

malni - đ	–	'woman'
maqo - đ	–	'girl'
taṅgadi - đ	–	'daughter'
a : - đ	–	'she'

The -du ending nouns, a sub-class of the non-masculine nouns take the gender suffix after the -du is dropped.

ṭu :ḍ - đ	–	'tiger'
o :y - đ	–	'cattle'
maq - đ	–	'insect'
tumgl - đ	–	'dream'

The only exception to this gender system is the person noun aba- 'own father'. Although it is a male person it takes the non-masculine suffix -đ. Even, abo- 'your father', and tambako - 'his father' take the usual masculine suffix.

3.2.1. Covert Gender System :

All nouns in Malto may be substituted by demonstrative pronouns. For example,

(1) sardareh barcah - a :h eṅki bayah
'The village chief came, he is my brother'
(2) ort peld barcađ - a :đ eṅinte be :dođ
'One woman came, she is older to me'
(3) a : baṛdiđ eṅkiđ - a :đ qoṯrođ
'That bullock is mine, it is blind'

The above data show that the gender distinction of the nouns with reference to the pronouns is again two-fold, i.e., masculine and non-masculine. But, when the pronominal reference is in the accusative ablative, locative and instrumental cases, the gender system is a three term one, i.e., masculine, feminine and neuter. Note these sentences.

(1) palna desino ort ra :jah beydah. maler ahin poka ra :jah a :nnar.
'In a certain country, there was a king. People call him the sick king'.

(2) niṅ maqeki bohu beyid. ađin oce ḍaḍeno piṭke kuñok.
'Your son has a wife, kill her taking to the forest'

(3) sat batan moydeno maqond sa :ṛe beyiđ. ađen ocer bisck.
'There is a bull in the seven herds of cattle. Sell it'.

Thus, covertly the Malto nouns show three genders, depending upon whether the pronominal reference in accusative case is ahin, ađin or ađen, corresponding to masculine, feminine and neuter respectively. Similarly, for the other three cases, demonstrative base iđe or ađe is used exclusively for the neuter nouns.

3.3. Plural:

The plural morpheme is added only to person nouns. The non-person nouns are unmarked. The morpheme is realized as /-r ~ -er/.

(i) -r occurs only after vowel ending bases

male - r – 'men'
maqe - r – 'boys'
musle - r – 'Muslims'
aba - r – 'fathers'
a : - r – 'they'

(ii) -er occurs elsewhere

pel - er – 'women'
jen - er – 'persons'
a :tar - er – 'they'

When the demonstrative a :tar occurs before the person nouns it takes the usual plural suffix.

a : tar - er male - r — ‘those men’
a : tar - er cer̥g̥e - r — ‘those wizards’

But it does not take the plural suffix when it occurs before non-person nouns.

a : tar si : jeđ — ‘all those things’
a : tar goṛ̥ođ — ‘all those horses’

A few collective pronouns like goṭ̥e and gahṇ̥di also behave similarly.

goter maler — ‘all men’
goṭ̥ siyaṛ̥eđ — ‘all jackals’

There are some person nouns which always occur with a plural suffix. These are collective nouns which semantically denote persons in specific kinship relation.

unḍ̥ql - er — ‘siblings’
manql - er — ‘parents and children’
be :ṛ̥ql - er — ‘woman’s brother and her husband’
mamql - er — ‘maternal uncle and nephew’
jo : ṛ̥ql - er — ‘husband and wife’
susrql - er — “father-in-law and son-in-law’
melql - er — ‘co-wives’ (See, foot-note 1)

3.3.1. Extension of Plurality :

The extension of plurality to the kinship domain is an interesting phenomenon in Malto. To begin with, the Malto kinship domain is broadly divided into two sub domains, /ba : ycnaqpor/ - ‘relationship of mutual avoidance’ and ‘others’. The domain of ‘mutual avoidance’ is an extremely delicate form of relationship, manifested in characteristic behavioural patterns like, restraint, formality, respect and politeness. Generally, the ‘mutual avoidance’ is practised between affinal relatives.

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1 It is most likely that -ql- in these words is an old plural formative and occurs only in these fused forms. Synchronically, although it is not possible to identify this marker, one wonders if it also occurs in other words like ti : ql - ‘rice’, qeql - ‘earth’, jañjql - ‘fruit fibers’, ba :ql - ‘spider’, etc.

Just as aba - 'one's own father' is marked with a feminine suffix as a mark of 'closeness', many of the kinship terms falling into the domain of 'ba : ycnaqpor' are marked with the plural suffix, irrespective of singularity or plurality, as a mark of 'social distance'. The extension of these gender-number markers for showing social proximity/distance is an interesting ethnosemantic feature.

Proximity - 'non-masculine'

aba - đ - 'my father'

Distance - 'plurality'

'brother' – baya, bayanda - r – 'husband's elder brother'
'sister' – ba : yi, ba : ynal -er – 'female relative elder to one's wife'
'father' – aba, abanda - r – 'father-in-law'
'mother' – dudu, dudunda - r – 'mother-in-law'
ja : me - r – 'younger sister's husband'
mesqaḍo - r – 'younger brother's wife, son's wife'
abo - r – 'your father' (when refers to spouse's father)
ayo - r – 'your mother' (when refers to spouse's mother)

3.4. Case :

Case inflections are suffixes which are added to the noun stem. Since, singular nouns are inflected for gender in nominative case only, it may be said that there are no specific markers for nominative case and the gender markers function as markers for nominative case also. Consider these sentences.

maleh barcah – 'the man came'
ṭu : ḍđ barcađ – 'the tiger came'

In the above examples, male-h and ṭu : ḍ-đ are marked not only for the two genders, but also for the nominative case. Therefore, when other case suffixes are added the gender suffixes are deleted. Thus, the forms are,

male - ki – 'of the man'
ṭu : ḍ - ki – 'of the tiger'

The demonstrative pronouns a : h, a : đ, etc. are exceptions to this rule, i.e., these pronouns retain the gender markers even when other case suffixes are added. For example,

ahi -ki	–	'his'
ađi - ki	–	'her'

In case of the number marker, it is regularly retained before all case suffixes. Therefore, the morphological structure for noun formations may be given as, noun stem + (Number) + (Case).

Syntactically, nouns in the nominative are nominal; in the accusative and dative are nominal or adverbial; in the genetive are adjectival; in other cases they are adverbial.

With reference to the case suffixes, the nouns fall into two broad classes.

(i) The two-stem nouns, one nominative and the other oblique. The stem to which case suffixes are added is called the oblique stem. The pronouns belong to this class.

(ii) The single stem nouns. The single stem nouns also fall into two sub-classes, the -du ending nouns and the rest. The -du ending nouns drop the ending before case suffixes.

There are seven cases in Malto; nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, instrumental, ablative and locative.

3.4.1. Nominative :

It has been already said that the nominative has no special suffix, except for the fact that the gender markers occur only in nominative, i.e., when the noun is used as the subject of a sentence, or in the predicative complement position. For example,

ra : jah awḍah – 'the king said'
ḍol ula okuh kurka tung̥ah – 'the person sitting in the drum wrote it down'

ra ja taṅgadeh eṅki sa :ryeh – 'the king's son is my friend'
a : ga : điđ sapa maneniđ – 'that wound will heal'
a :r puđyar ṭunḍnar tan se ṭakađ – 'having poured, they saw
that, it is money'

Similarly, in case of plural nouns,

oṛg̣ loker loṭan petar ṭunḍnar – 'the people of the house see
lifting the pitcher'
pokirer aṭ caleno ḍera mañjar – 'the mendicants camped in the
marked place'
i : maler eṅki pe : ṛar – 'these men are my relatives'

Surprisingly, Das claims that the nominative case ending { θ } has two allomorphs – θ and Ø. The former occurs after vowels and the Ø after consonants. This is rather doubtful. But, in certain cases, i.e., when some nouns are mass nouns or are treated like mass nouns, the usual gender suffix in the nominative is optional.

a :h ṭunḍdah tan se sude ti : ql – 'he saw that it is only rice'
teni nindkiđ eṅyađ – 'the honey got filled and became surplus'

However, the regular forms are,

komareh ṭunḍdah tan se copađ – 'the black smith saw that
it is husk'
eso laboh ki :ṛeđ – 'this year, hunger is too much'

3.4.2. Accusative :

The accusative has several syntactic function but mainly it is used to mark the direct object of the transitive verbs. The case suffix is realized as /-n ~ -in/ when the noun is not a -du class noun. After the -du class nouns, the suffix is /-a ~-an/. The distribution of the allomorphs are,

-n occurs after the vowels only

male - n – 'to the man'

maqe - n — 'to the child'
kuco - n — 'to the dog'

-in occurs after consonants only

maler - in — 'to the men'
maqer - in — 'to the boys'

After the -du class nouns the suffix is -a which freely varies with -an.

ṭu :ḍ - a ~ ṭu :ḍ - an — 'to the tiger'
kank̇ - a ~ kank̇ - an — 'to the wood'
pel - a ~ pel - an — 'to the woman'

The following examples show varies syntactic functions of the accusative.

(i) The direct object of a transitive verb is marked with accusative.

a :h ḍaḍin qohdah — 'he is cutting the branch'
kamareh gowaṛen bi :kyah — 'the blacksmith called the cowherd'
e :n kanka qe :g̣an — 'I shall buy wood'

The co-ordinated direct objects are also marked individually.

ra :jah ukan aman cicah — 'the king gave 'hukka' and water'
ni :n ga indran o :nene — biṛin cuṭin mala ukan — 'what will you take, 'biri', cigar or 'hukka'?'
e :m mulkeki mandran ceṭon ogtam — 'we applied all medicines and charms'

(ii) With intransitive verbs, particularly with the verbs of motion, the accusative is used adverbially.

muso sojan e :ka — 'go straight, lit. following your nose'
a :h gaṅa biṭen biṭen bagi gaṛit barcah — 'he came in a horse-carriage by the side of the Ganges'

na : m bijno eṅe meṅe pa : wan e : key –'when the day breaks,
we shall go on our way'

(iii) When two accusatives occur with a causative verb, one of the accusatives is instrumental.

a : h a : godrin taṅbhun meqtarah – 'he got the intestines roasted
by his sister-in-law'
a : h malerin pa : no ḍaḍen qettarah – 'he got the jungles surrounded by the people'
a : jogyeh boran maqerin pehtarah – 'the begger got the sack
loaded by the boys'

There are also some examples of two accusatives occurring with double transitive verbs like, show, say, inform, send, etc.

e : n qeporin i: saban awḍatan – 'I told this matter to the
villagers'
mandrawen ṭeṭun e : da – 'show the hand to the medicine man'

3.4.3. Dative:

The dative is realized as /-k ∾ -ik/.

The -k occurs after nouns ending in vowel.

ḍaḍe - k – 'to the jungle'
pokri - k – 'to the pond'
pokirni - k – 'to the female mendicant'

The -ik occurs after nouns ending in consonant and after -du class nouns.

maler - ik – 'to the men'
qep - ik – 'to the village'
oṛg̣ - ik – 'to the house'

The following examples show the syntactic functions of the dative.

(i) The indirect object of the transitive verb is marked with dative.

a : h taṅ malerin i : desik teyah – 'he sent his people to this country'
a : r maqen manik argtarah – 'they made the boy climb the tree'
a : h pokirek ti:qlan cicah – 'he gave rice to the begger'

(ii) With the intransitive verbs, particularly with the verbs of motion, the dative is used in the sense of 'for'.

e : m beñjek e : kdam – 'we are going for the wedding'
goṭer oṛg̣ik aṛsyar – 'all reached home'

(iii) With the intransitive verbs the dative shows location. These verbs are of two types, be – verbs and others.

maqek ṭeṭu mackarad – 'the boy's hand got dislocated (lit. The hand got dislocated to the boy)'

dokanawek ṭaka ḍuṅyad – 'the shop keeper's money got lost'
bahondno okno ḍa : gdorek ka : je calarlenid – 'the work will not be done if the doctor sits at one place'

With the be – verbs.

ra : jak tin jen pelmaqer mañjar – 'the king had three wives (lit. there were three wives to the king)'
ra : mak maqond kuco beyid – 'Rama has a dog'
sardarek e:na goṭu ga : ydu – 'how many cows does the chief have?'

The dative is also used in the meaning of location with the third group of verbs, signifying 'feeling'.

ramak panye lagid – 'Rama is feeling cold'
maqek puṛa nuñjtarid – 'the child's stomach hurts'
mesak qandro bedid – 'Mesa is feeling sleepy'
mesak esa alsi urqid – 'Mesa is perspiring'

When the predicate is ca : ḍe lagyad, the dative is used.

ramak dudiki ca : ḍe lagyad – 'the milk was wanted by Rama'

In the present tense the 'lagyad' is dropped.

ramak dudiki ca : ḍed – 'the milk is wanted by Rama'

(iv) When two datives occur in a sentence, the former usually means the 'goal' and the latter 'purpose'.

a:r a : bokan dokanik isgnik teyar – 'they sent that fool to the shop for oil'
a : r cuḍ maqen pahṛik a : tg̣ek teyar – 'they sent the small boy to the hills for the leaves'

3.4.4. Genitive :

The genitive is realized as /-ki/.

male - ki	–	'of the man'
ṭu : ḍ - ki	–	'of the tiger'
maler - ki	–	'of the men'

The noun in genitive is always in collocation with other nouns and generally means 'possession'.

maqeki ṭeṭud mackarad – 'the boy's hand got dislocated'
ra : meh dasroteki tañg̣adeh mañjah – 'Ram was Dasaratha's son'
cañjki ma : kdu esa sawadid – 'the deer meat is very tasty'

As an adjectival it also occurs in the predicative position. In this position it agrees with the subject in person and number.

i : kisdu ḍaḍekid – 'this pig is of the forest'
i : maqer sardarekir – 'these boys are of the chief'

Under "Possessive Pronouns" Droese gives a whole paradigm, which shows that the genitives of personal and demonstrative pronouns can be further declined for all cases (1884, p.32). He gives the whole set for the first person singular possessive pronoun engki and says that the rest of the possessive pronouns follow the same process. My dialect data show that the rules for the declension of the possessive nouns have to be framed differently. First of all, not only the possessive pronouns, but all nouns in the genitive case can take further case suffixes optionally, i.e., there is agreement in the case between the noun in the genitive case and the noun which is in collocation with it. But, this agreement is limited to two cases only, nominative and accusative.

taṅgadekid peld barcad – 'the son's wife came'
oṛgawekih maqeh eṅinte beḍoh – 'the house owner's son
is elder to me'

Similarly,

cari pesakin be :ka qaṭa – 'give salt for four paise'
e :m ramakin ṭakan pesan ṭunḍlaydam – 'we have not seen
Rama's money'

3.4.5. Instrumental :

The instrumental is realized as /-t ~ -it ~ -et/. The alternant -et occurs only after -du ending noun bases.

am - et – 'by the water'
qaj - et – 'by the mud'
ca :r - et – 'by the arrow'

The alternant -t occurs after bases ending in vowel.

ṭeṭu - t — 'by the hand'
karone - t — 'by the disease'
ki :ṛe - t — 'by the hunger'

The alternant -it occurs elsewhere.

maler - it — 'by the men'
maqer - it — 'by the children'

The case has the general meaning of 'by' and 'with'.

pa :no karonet a :h coyot lo :ṛomalah — 'he is not able to get up due to illness'
iden curit mo :ca — 'cut it with the knife'

3.4.6. Ablative :

The ablative is realized as /-nte ∾ -inte/. The alternant -nte occurs after bases ending in vowel.

iskule - nte — 'from the school'
pàtli - nte — 'from the pot'

The alternant -inte occurs elsewhere.

oṛg̣ - inte — 'from the house'
qep - inte — 'from the village'
maqer - inte — 'from the boys'

The case has the general meaning of 'from'.

maqer iskulente kirnar — 'the children are returning from the school'
qepinte e :m goḍak e :kanam — 'we shall go to Godda from the village'
maninte pu :pd jarqyad — 'the flowers fell from the tree'

3.4.7. Locative :

The locative is realized as /-no ~ -ino/. But when the morpheme occurs before the emphatic particle i, -no has a variant -ni. The alternant -no occurs after bases ending in vowel, and after -du ending bases.

qe :ql - no — 'in the earth'
man - no — 'in the tree'
ṭeṭu - no — 'in the hand'

The alternant -ino occurs elsewhere.

maler - ino — 'in the people'
maqer - ino — 'in the children'

Before the emphatic particle, (See, morphophonemic rule for intrusive h).

qe : ql - ni - hi — 'in the earth too'
ṭeṭu - ni - hi — 'in the hand too'
maqer - ini - hi — 'in the boys too'

The suffix has the general meaning of 'in'.

e :m aṭ caleno ḍera mañjaydam — 'we have camped in the market place'
daṛino pesa beyid — 'money is in the cloth'
a :h pa :wno e :ka jimrah — 'he met on the road'

3.4.8. Systematization of Case Morphemes :

The following list shows the morphemic systematization of the case suffixes.

Nominative — -h (masculine singular)

-d (non-masculine)

Accusative — -n

Dative – -k

Genitive – -ki

Instrumental – -t

Ablative – -nte

Locative – -no

3.5. Conjugated Nouns :

When the nouns occur in the predicative position and in apposition, these take pronominal suffixes in agreement with the subject. For example,

e :n eṅḍo - n – 'I am your younger brother'
ni :n eṅḍo - y – 'you are my younger brother'
a :h eṅḍo - h – 'he is my younger brother'
a :d eṅḍo - d – 'she is my younger sister'
e :m eṅḍo - m – 'we (exclusive) are younger brothers'
na :m eṅḍo - y – 'we (inclusive) are younger brothers'
ni :m eṅḍo - r – 'you are younger brothers'
a :r eṅḍo - r – 'they are younger brothers'

Similarly, the nouns in apposition are,

e :n to malen ki :ṛet kabu mañjatan – 'I the man, have succumbed to hunger'
ni :n pokirniy ni :n to des desi guraruy – 'you, the mendicant, you are a wanderer'
e :m ḍaḍeno ḍo :ku malem, iker jahan cinyomalar – 'we, the forest dwellers, none could know us'

Thus, the pronominal suffixes, which are added to the nouns are,

1st singular – n

2nd singular – y

3rd masc. sg. — h

3rd fem. sg. — đ

1st excl. pl. — m

1st incl. pl. — y

non-1st plural — r

3.6. Pronouns :

The pronouns are a close group of words which can substitute nouns and can take case suffixes. The pronouns fall into four groups ; personal, demonstrative, interrogative and reflexive. All personal pronouns are two-stem nouns, i.e., nominative and oblique. The nominative stem when occurs with the optional -u, the stem vowel is long. When the final -u is dropped, the stem becomes monosyllabic (See, morphophonemic rule 2.11.(2)(i), p.58).

The corresponding oblique bases for the personal pronouns are,

		Nominative	Oblique
1 sg.	....	e :n	eṅ-
2 sg.	....	ni : n	niṅ-
1 pl. excl.	....	e :m	em-
1 pl. incl.	....	na : m	nam
2 pl.	....	ni : m	nim

The oblique base functions as the genitive or it may optionally take the suffix -ki. All other case suffixes and the post-positions occur after the oblique base. The following is a list of allomorphs of case suffixes which occur only after personal pronouns.

Dative – -e : eṅ-e, niṅ-e,em-e,nam-e,nim-e.

Instrumental – -et : eṅ-et, niṅ-et, em-et, nam-et, nim-et.

Ablative – -ente : eṅ-ente, niṅ-ente, em-ente, nam-ente, nim-ente.

Locative – -eno : eṅ-eno, niṅ-eno, em-eno, nam-eno, nim-eno.

Thus, the system of personal pronouns in Malto is a five term one, i.e., 1st person singular and 2nd person singular. The 1st person plural consists of two members, inclusive and exclusive. The other term is the 2nd person plural.

3.6.1. Demonstrative Pronouns :

The demonstrative pronominal system is a two term one, formed on the demonstrative adjective bases i: – 'proximate', and a : – 'remote'. With the gender and number markers, six demonstrative pronouns are formed. These are,

i:h – 'proximate masculine'

a:h – 'remote masculine'

i:d – 'proximate non-masculine'

a:d – 'remote non-masculine'

i:r – 'proximate plural'

a:r – 'remote plural'

Two other demonstrative pronouns are also formed with the plural suffix -tar, which has the meaning 'all'.

i:tar - er – 'proximate collective plural'

a:tar - er – 'remote collective plural'

The oblique bases are distinguished from the nominatives, i.e., the stem vowels in the former bases are short. As regards the non-masculine oblique base, a further morphological distinction is made between feminine and neuter pronouns. The oblique base for the feminine pronouns are iḍi-, aḍi- and for the neuter pronouns are iḍe-, aḍe-. Except for accusative, instrumental, ablative and locative, the opposition between feminine and neuter is neutralized and realized as iḍi-, aḍi-.

		Feminine	Neuter
Nominative	....	i :ḍ	i :ḍ
		a :ḍ	a :ḍ
Oblique	....	iḍi	iḍe
		aḍi	aḍe

In the four cases, where the contrast is registered,

Accusative	....	aḍin	aḍe/ optionally aḍen
Instrumental	....	aḍit	aḍet
Ablative	....	aḍinte	aḍente
Locative	....	aḍino	aḍeno

In the two cases, where the contrast is neutralized,

Genitive	....	aḍiki
Dative	...,	aḍik

The proximate demonstrative pronouns also shows the same morphological distinction.

3.6.2. Interrogative Pronouns :

There are two sets of interrogative pronouns corresponding to the person and the non-person nouns. The first set consists of two pronouns ne : du and ike, meaning 'who' and the other set consists of one member indrdu, meaning 'what'. As regards, the two pronouns ne :du and ike, considerable overlapping between them is to be noted in this dialect, and there is a tendency to replace the former by the latter. In some environments the two pronouns do not contrast.

gosañin ne :d jahan ṭunḍlah – 'no one has seen the god'

or

gosañin iker jahan tundlar

ne :d jahan barlah – 'no one came'

or

iker jahan barlar

However, the pronouns differ in following syntactic functions.

(1) ike alone occurs in the predicative position and shows concord with the subject. It also takes the number marker.

e :n iken – 'who am I?'

ni :m iker – 'who are you?'

a :r iker – 'who are they?' etc.

(2) Although both the pronouns can substitute person nouns in the nominative case, ike occurs exclusively for the non-person nouns.

ikđ pinḍiđ – 'what is beating?' (as a drum)

ikđ targ̣rađ – 'what did break?'

(3) With other case markers, nek (the oblique of ne : d) occurs with reference to person nouns.

i :đ nek taṅg̣adiđ – 'whose daughter is she?'

i : jinse nekki a :h oyaṅah – 'whose things are these,
he will take those'

The paradigm for ne : d is as follows. It has no plural form.

Nom.	–	ne : d
Obl./Gen.	–	nek/nekki
Acc.	–	neken
Dat.	–	neke
Instr.	–	neket
Abl.	–	nekente
Loc.	–	nekeno

The paradigm for ike is,

		Singular	Plural
Nom.	–	ikẹ - h/d	ike - r
Acc.	–	iken	ikerin
Dat.	–	ikek	ikerik
Gen.	–	ikeki	ikerki
Instr.	–	iket	ikerit
Abl.	–	ikente	ikerinte
Loc.	–	ikeno	ikerino

The paradigm for indrdu is,

Nom.	–	indr
Acc.	–	indra/indran
Dat.	–	indrik
Gen.	–	indrki
Instr.	–	indret
Abl.	–	indrente
Loc.	–	indreno

When the pronouns ne : du and indrdu occur in co-ordination with other nouns, these have the general meaning of 'etcetra' or 'the like'.

a :h loket neket kankan pehtarah – 'he got the wood removed by people, etc.'
a :h maqen neken bi :ktarah – 'he summoned the boys etc.'

Similarly,

pesan indran e :m ṭunḍlaydam – 'we have not seen money or the like'
a :h patlino indreno ja :gu bitah – 'he was cooking rice in a pot or something'

There are also two markers like ba : ḍe and goṭe which when suffixed to ike gives the meaning of indefiniteness to the pronouns.

ike ba : ḍe – 'some one'
ike goṭe – 'any one'

3.6.3. Reflexive Pronouns :

The reflexive pronouns are formed by adding the reflexive morpheme -i to the personal pronouns.

1 sg. – e :n - i
2 sg. – ni : n -i
1 pl. excl. – e :m - i
1 pl. incl. – na :m - i
2 pl. – ni : m - i

Some examples of the use of the reflexive pronouns are,

e : n e : ni barcan – 'I came by myself'
ni : m ni : mi kandṛ manoma – 'do not fight among yourselves'

In the case of demonstrative pronouns, the forms have distinct allomorphs before the reflexive. These are ta : n and ta : m for the 3rd singular and plural respectively. These are also two-stem pronouns showing nominative/oblique distinction. The oblique stem for the third singular is taṅ and for the third plural tam.

		Singular	Plural
Nom.	–	ta :n - i	ta :m - i
Obl./Gen.	–	taṅ/taṅki	tam/tamki
Acc.	–	taṅen	tamen
Dat.	–	taṅe	tame
Instr.	–	taṅet	tamet
Abl.	–	taṅente	tamente
Loc.	–	taṅeno	tameno

3.7. Proper Nouns :

The proper nouns or personal names are one of the major areas of the Malto language which is considerably affected by the process of acculturation. The two main factors, affecting this are conversion to Christianity and admission to educational institutions. Although very little attention is paid to this area of acculturation in the existing ethnographic literature, there are reasons to believe that the traditional naming in this culture is systematic, i.e., both male and female names of the grand parents are inherited. This fact is also indirectly corroborated by the few genealogical tables given by Sarkar (1938). So, the traditional naming system is partially a closed system, with a limited number of personal names which are likely to be repeated in every third generation. But due to conversion to Christianity many of the old names are replaced by new names like, Peter, Maichel, Alexander, Parameswar, Mary, Susan, etc. Similarly, the schools run by the Paharia Welfare Department of the Bihar State Government, change the names of the entrants at the time of admission, and bestow new names like Kamala, Buddhinath, Chandrama, Naresa, Sukadeva, etc. These Anglicised and Sanskritised names are characteristically different from the traditional names. The Malto names are generally paired along the dimension of sex and the distinction is manifested by marked features. This process is not an isolated one, but also runs through other word classes like nouns and adjectives. The morphological rule operating in the proper nouns is,

name final -V → -i/when female

Male	Female
ra : ma	ra : mi
me : sa	me : si
jawra	jawri
moṅla	moṅli
guya	guyi
de : wa	de : wi
beyda	beydi
bi : ma	bi : mi
sonya	sonyi
bamna	bamni
bandra	bandri
baṅgra	baṅgri
ma :ġa	ma :ġi
na : ra	na : ri
be : wa	be : wi
si : ba	si : bi
kana	kani
gande	gandi
rawte	tawti
maṛgro	maṛgri
sañjo	sañji
budu	budi
loku	loki
jeṭu	jeṭi
ca : ndu	ca : ndi
kalu	kali

There are also some names which are not paired. These are usually given after 'animals' or 'adjectives of quality'.

For example,

osge	'mouse'
kuco	'dog'
ciḍo	'musk rat'
bogole	'crane'
qa : qa	'crow'

and,

kitro	'rotten'
aṅglo	'open mouthed'
boṁbro	'deep voiced'
cu : co	'pointed'
ca : po	'short'
ci : pro	'wrinkled'

It is also interesting to note that the proper nouns, like other nouns, may take the gender suffixes in the nominative case.

ṛa : meh dasroteki taṅg̣adeh mañjah – 'Rama was Dasaratha's son'
binodanesh ahin namyah – 'Binodane scolded him'
pulomatiđ esa sajyid – 'pulomoti is very pretty'

The above names are borrowed or fancy names which occur in folklores.

3.8. Adverbial Nouns :

There is a class of noun-stems, which are not distinguished for number and gender, but are inflected with certain case suffixes. They are, by definition, nouns on the morphological level, although syntactically they function as adverbials or relators (See, Chapter 7). These nouns occur after a noun or a noun phrase which they govern. The noun which is governed is in oblique case if it is a two-stem noun or else it is uninflected.

qoq – 'behind'
kucođ eṅ qoq bariđ – 'the dog is coming behind me'

ula – 'inside'
daṛi ula pesa beyiđ – 'the money is inside the cloth'

pisi – 'under'
qaj pisi amđ ko : ḍiđ – 'there is water under the earth'

pa : w – 'from the side'
diyal pa : w amđ curg̣rađ – 'water ran from the side of the wall'

piki – 'direction'
ṭu : ḍđ maqe piki ekyađ – 'the tiger went in the direction of the boy'

meca – 'above'
man meca pujđ okiđ – 'the bird is sitting on the tree'

ba : đgi – 'side'
eṅ ba : đgino ko: ḍa – 'lie down by my side'

kiṭe – 'near'
a : r ra : jbaṛi kiṭeno ḍera mañjar – 'they made their camp near the palace'

baha – 'place, near'
eṅ bahak bara – 'come near me'
iđen qeḍ bahano ki : đa – 'place it near the foot'
i : h eṅ bahante ṭa : ṭg̣en bacdah – 'he is snatching mangoes from me'

3.9. Complex Nouns :

Noun stems consisting of one root and one or more derivational suffixes are called complex nouns. Complex noun stems behave like simple stems in entering into inflection, representing the categories of gender, number and case. The following groups of derivative suffixes are morphologically segmentable.

(1) Suffixes denoting sex difference in persons.

(i) Nouns which are formed by the morphological rule,

final -e —→ -ni/when female

Male	Female		
aḍye	aḍyni	–	'man of Hari Caste'
kamare	kamarni	–	'blacksmith'
male	malni	–	'the Malpahria man'
gole	golni	–	'Hindu man'
rakse	raksni	–	'demon'
ranḍye	ranḍyni	–	'widower'
gonḍye	gonḍyni	–	'fisherman'
malike	malikni	–	'master'
siñaṛe	siñaṛni	–	'rich man'
sardare	sardarni	–	'chief'
becare	becarni	–	'poor fellow'
ceṛge	ceṛgni	–	'wizard'
bayaṛe	bayaṛni	–	'male relative'
camare	camarni	–	'cobbler'
gowaṛe	gowaṛni	–	'cowherd'
qalwe	qalwni	–	'thief'
debane	dabanni	–	'lord'
te : ne	te : nni	–	'relative'
pokire	pokirni	–	'mendicant'
kumre	kumrni	–	'the Kumarbhag'
ma : ṛe	ma : ṛni	–	'the Marpaharia'
iñjqade	iñjqadni	–	'orphan'
masṭare	masṭarni	–	'teacher'
setale	setalni	–	'the Santal'
ḍombe	ḍombni	–	'the Dom'
ra : ṛe	ra : ṛni	–	'enemy'
dobye	dobyni	–	'washerman'

There are a few nouns which are marked with the male - e, but do not have female counterparts.

sa : rye – 'friend'

bo : nḍe	–	'fat man'
ḍagdare	–	'doctor'
pulise	–	'policeman'
mahjane	–	'money lender'
ceṭe	–	'the Sawrya Paharia'
dase	–	'member of a village council'
koṭwaṛe	–	'an official of village council'
majye	–	'village chief'
napite	–	'barber'
ṭo : ge	–	'cheat'
jogye	–	'begger'

There are a few nouns which are marked with the female -ni but do not have male counterparts.

bagmanni	–	'goddess'
baṭgni	–	'maiden'

(ii) Nouns differentiated for sex by different morphemic realization.

(a) final -o ⟶ -i/when female

qalapo	qalapi	–	'nephew - niece'
me :g̣ro	me :g̣ri	–	'eldest son - eldest daughter'
pocro	pocri	–	'baby son - baby daughter'

(b) final -a ⟶ -i/when female

bagna	bagni	–	'sister's son - sister's daughter'
ḍomna	ḍomni	–	'baby son - baby daughter'
sa :ṛa	sa :ṛi	–	'wife's brother - wife's sister'
beḍa	beḍi	–	'father's father - father's mother'
qawra	qawri	–	'illegitimate boy - girl'

(c) final element —> ni/when female

ḍa : we	ḍa : ni	—	'husband - wife'
nati	natni	—	'grand son - grand daughter'

(iii) Derived nouns which are differentiated along sexby different morphemic realization.

awe —> ani/when female

mandr — 'medicine'

mandrwe	mandrani	—	'medicine man'

oṛg — 'house'

oṛgawe	oṛgani	—	'house owner'

dokani — 'shop'

dokanawe	dokanani	—	'shop keeper'

Other derived nouns of the same structure are,

kete	—	'field'	ketawe	—	'farmer'
bora	—	'sack'	borawe	—	'person having sacks'

(2) -ndar suffix which signifies 'affinal relationship'.

aba	—	'father'	aba - ndar	—	'father-in-law'
dudu	—	'mother'	dudu - ndar	—	'mother-in-law'
baya	—	'brother'	bay - ndar	—	'brother-in-law'

(3) Bound kinship terms which occur only with personal pronouns eṅ — 'my', niṅ — 'your', and taṅ — 'his'.

eṅ - gad - e	—	'my son'
eṅ - gad - i	—	'my daughter'
niṅ - gad - e	—	'your son'
niṅ - gad - i	—	'your daughter'
taṅ - gad - e	—	'his son'
taṅ - gad - i	—	'his daughter'
eṅ - ḍo	—	'my younger brother/sister'
niṅ - ḍo	—	'your younger brother/sister'
taṅ - ḍo	—	'his s younger s brother/sister'

(4) -yo suffix meaning 'a person who possesses or performs'. When the suffix is attached to a vowel ending stem, the vowel is deleted.

ahṛe	–	'hunting'	ahr - yo	–	'hunter'
ca :me	–	'song'	ca :m - yo	–	'singer'
payṭi	–	'work'	payṭ - yo	–	'worker'
ca :kri	–	'service'	ca :kr - yo	–	'servant'
ṭaḍi	–	'toddy'	ṭaḍ - yo	–	'drunkard'
leḍra	–	'left hand'	leḍr - yo	–	'left handed person'
duke	–	'sorrow'	duk - yo	–	'miserable person'
eṛt	–	'bow'	eṛt - yo	–	'archer'
beñje	–	'marriage'	beñj - yo	–	'person going in a wedding party'
cuṭi	–	'tuft of hair'	cuṭ - yo	–	'person having a tuft of hair'

3.10. Compound Nouns :

Compound noun stems consist of more than one primary root. Both of these roots may be free or one of these may be unique. A compound is not merely a juxtaposition of two independent roots, but is a construction with different kinds of underlying semantic structure. For example, mal - ṭu : ḍ – 'man - tiger' is a 'man who is a tiger', ṭu :ḍa - ṭeñgu – 'to the tiger - speaker' is 'one who reports to the tiger'. Similarly, mal - saba – 'man - language' is 'the language of the man', muso - tu :tro – 'nose - hole' is 'the hole of the nose'. Therefore, the compounds are in a sense quasi-idiomatic, i.e., the meaning of the parts is not equivalent to the whole. Structurally, most of the compounds in Malto are subordinate constructions, i.e., one of the roots, the preceding one, is a modifier of the second. These are the various types of modifications noted in the data.

(i) Modified by a noun in attributive position.
mal - ṭu : ḍ (man who is a tiger) – 'a sadist'
qe : s - koco (blood that is belly) – 'blood dysentry'
neña - ma : k (fat that is meat) – 'fat meat'

(ii) Modified by a noun which is semantically a possessive.
mal - saba (man's language) – 'the Malto language'
muso - tu : tro (nose's hole) – 'nostril'

melq - mo : cu (throat's cutter) – 'a cut-throat'
ma : d - ma : k (god's meat) – 'sacrificed meat'
bilp - niṛe (moon's light) – 'moon-light'
po : k - ṭola (ant's nest) – 'ant nest'
qa : n - pocro (eye's filth) – 'eye sand'
kuk - kaṭi (head's pin) – 'hairpin'
pokl - suta (silk moth's thread) – 'tusser silk'
kulp - kaṭi (lock's stick) – 'key'
jaṛ - de : mano (rain's diviner) – 'skylark'
kaṛm - gaṭa (waist's rope) – 'waist-band'

(iii) Modification by a noun in accusative case.
qa : nan - icu (digger of the eye) – 'name of a bird'
mana - pakru (catcher of the tree) – 'the woodpecker'
ṭu : ḍa - teṅgu (reporter to the tiger) – 'the praying mantis'

(iv) Modification of a generic noun by a specific noun.
a : tg - kobi (leaf - cauliflower) – 'cabbage'
am - boḍa (water - snake) – 'kind of snake'
kakṛo - te : le (crab - centipede) – 'scorpion'
mo : kro - o : s (hallow - mushroom) – 'kind of mushroom'
muhni - mandr (charm - medicine) – 'magic medicine'
raksi - ṭaḍi (mohwa - liquor) – 'kind of liquor'
pi : k - turu (excreta - bug) – 'dungbeetle'
sona - poor (gold - insect) – 'kind of chrysalis'
te : ni - rasi (honey bee - juice) – 'honey'
mu : q - mi : n (frog - fish) – 'kind of fish'
jata - ali (grinding stone - tuber) – 'kind of tuber'
ṭu : ḍ - mi : n (tiger - fish) – 'kind of fish'

(v) Modified by a descriptive adjective.
qe : so - po : k (red - ant) – 'kind of ant'
qepo - ma : s (belonging to village - bamboo) – 'kind of bamboo'
paco - palaṅgje (old - melon) – 'kind of melon'
paṭṛo - simbi (flat - bean) – 'kind of bean'

(vi) Modified by a verb root.
muṛg - mandr (uprooting - medicine) – 'slow poison'
arg - be : r (climbing - sun) – 'rising sun'

bij - merg (dawning - sky) – 'morning sky'
kagl - ḍole (dying - drum) – 'death drum'
ugsa - di : ne (fasting - day) – 'day of fasting'
ti : na - ṭeṭu (eating - hand) – 'right hand'

3.11. Balance Nouns :

Balance nouns are those nouns which occur with other nouns in co-ordination and are in same grammatical class as the main nouns. It is the second member of the compound which functions as the balance noun. There are only a limited number of nouns which function as balance words and they may or may not occur independently.

pesa ṭaka (money - rupee) – 'money'
daṛi ḍaba (cloth - rags) – 'clothings'
saba kata (language - talk) – 'discussion'
si : je ma : le (things - goodies) – 'riches'
ja : gu aṛage (rice - curry) – 'meals'
oṛg duwari (house - door) – 'whole house'
kete bakṛi (rice field - corn field) – 'cultivated land'
ḍaḍe jare (woods - vines) – 'forest'
ṭo : ke pahṛi (hill - mound) – 'hills'
laṛay jagra (fighting - quarrels) – 'feuds'
pa : n o : ṭr (fruit - flower) – 'edible vegetables'
puj gugṛi (bird - dove) – 'game birds'
maq pa : n (animal - egg) – 'game animals'
ra : ji desi (kingdom - country) – 'countries'
pel maqo (woman - child) – 'women and children'
ki : re am (hunger - water) – 'hunger and thirst'
jaga baha (place - place) – 'places'
jare bilo (vine - creeper) – 'vines'
ṭu : ḍ ej (tiger - bear) – 'predatory animals'
male goler (natives - Hindus) – 'people'
goda colo (open space - back yard) – 'secluded places'
teho tambakor (mother - father) – 'parents'
mulk dunya (country - world) – 'world'
duṛi muṭi (dust - filth) – 'dust'
cotr motr (body filth - nonsense word) – 'filth'

pen petr (louse - worm) — 'worms'
duke ki :ṛe (suffering - hunger) — 'troubles'
tari kuri (dish - cup) — 'utensils'
aba beḍoba (father - grand-father) — 'ancestors'
ḍalane mahle (balcony - palace) — 'buildings'
ti :ql ḍali (rice - pulse) — 'provisions'
nokre cakre (servant - servant) — 'servants'
dana pani (foot - water) — 'food-stuff'
o : ne done (drinks - wealth) — 'wealth'
saje baje (dress - nonsense word) — 'ornaments'
sona rupa (gold - silver) — 'riches'
kursi mence (chair - bench) — 'furniture'
ra : ja poylar (king - attendant) — 'royal persons'
kanḍo macli (stool - foot-rest) — 'indigenous furniture'
duke suke (misery - happiness) — 'go of life'
biṛi cuṭi ('biri' - cigar) — 'items of hospitality'
duke kosṭe (misery - difficulty) — 'misery'
duke ki :ṛe (misery - hunger) — 'wants'
mandr ceṭo (medicine - herbs) — 'medicines'
ro : ge karone (disease - illness) — 'illness'
oja bejar (medicine man - witch doctor) — 'medicine men'
ra :ji paṭi (kingdom - land) — 'kingdoms'
ṭeṭu qeḍ (hand - leg) — 'limbs'
ka : je ka : me (work - work) — 'works'
pole ḍole (nonsense word - drum) — 'belongings'
pa : w qa : l (road - field) — 'places frequented by people'
ma : k ja : gu (meat - rice) — 'sumptuous food'
sa : ge puro (greens - herbs) — 'poor food'
ma : k cañj (hornless deer - deer) — 'game animals'
jagṛa kanḍre (fighting - quarrel) — 'quarrelings'
ma :le jale (precious things - nonsense word) — 'riches'
pa : w ta : ṛe (road - flat land) — 'roads'
maqer ponḍer (children - women) — 'dependants'

3.12. Classification of Nouns :

(1) The Malto nouns can be classified by applying syntactic and morphological criteria. Syntactically, the nouns can be divided into

mass and count nouns. Although all nouns, except the abstract noun, can be pronominally referred by the interrogative adjective e :na guṛ – 'how many/much', only the count nouns can take a special set of classifiers in the place of guṛ. The mass nouns cannot occur in the above frame. For example,

a :h e :na guṛ isgṅam qe :gyah – 'how much oil did he buy?'
a :h e :na guṛ ṭaḍin onḍaycah – 'how much toddy did he drink?'

The guṛ in the above sentences cannot be substituted by any other morpheme except the 'container' and the 'measure' words. The nouns which occur only in this frame are 'mass' nouns.

In case of 'count' nouns, 'guṛ' can be substituted by a special set of classifiers. Forexample,

(i) a :ḍek e :na guṛ maler barcar
or
a :dek e :na jen maler barcar – 'how many people came there?'
(ii) ahik e :na guṛ baṛdi beyiđ
or
ahik e :na maq baṛdi beyiđ – 'how many cows does he have?'
(iii) a :h e :na guṛ kaldin lapiycah
or
a :h e :na paṛa kaldin lapiycah – 'how many bananas did he eat?'
(iv) a :h e :na guṛ patlin ocah
or
a :h e :na guṭ patlin ocah – 'how many pots did he take?'
(v) i : qepno e :na guṛ manđ i :liđ
or
i : qepno e :na man manđ i :liđ – 'how many trees are in this village?'

Furthermore, in an affirmative frame the classifiers can be preceded by numerals. For example,

a: ḍek tini jen maler barcar – 'three people came there'
ahik tini maq baṛdi beyiđ – 'he has three cows'
a: h tini paṛa kaldin lapiycah – 'he ate three bananas'
a: h tini guṭ patlin ocah – 'he took three pots'
i: qepno tini man mand i: liđ – 'there are three trees in this village'

Thus, the Malto nouns fall into three distinct classes.

Mass nouns – nouns which occur only in e: na guṛ frame.
Count nouns – nouns which occur in e: na guṛ and also in numeral frame.
Abstract nouns – nouns which do not occur in e: na guṛ frame.

(2) The second type of classification of the nouns is based on morphological criterion, i.e., the nouns which end with the suffix -du and the rest. All the -du ending nouns are monosyllabic and have the canonical shape $C_{0-1}VC_{1-4}$. For example,

ej - du – 'bear'
adr - du – 'broken particles of corn'
isg̣n - du – 'oil'
qeḍ - du – 'leg'
pocr - du – 'worm'
juṛpl - du – 'bush'
jañjql - du – 'portions of fruit'

Secondly, the -du ending nouns are marked differently in the accusative case, i.e., with -a or optionally -an, unlike other nouns. For example,

ej – 'bear' –– eja/ejan – 'to the bear'
qeḍ – 'leg' –– qeḍa/qeḍan – 'to the leg'
isg̣n – 'oil' –– isg̣na/isg̣nan – 'to the oil'

A note on these nouns may be given here in view of Droese's treatment of the subject. To begin with, in the two other dialects of Malto the ending -du corresponds to -u, which is called "enunciative" by Droese. Isolating this criterion, Droese says "there is but one declension of the Malto nouns and it is effected by means of case signs, which in the singular are appended to the noun as it is, when the latter ends with a vowel. When nouns terminate with a consonant invariably followed by an enunciative short u, and which nouns are always neuter, this u disappers before the case signs of four of the cases, while in two, viz., the Dative short i, and the instrumental short e, take the place of the enunciative short u" (1884, p.3). Without judging the merits of Droese's treatment, it should suffice to note here, he too has identified two classes of nouns, one class which ends with an "enunciative short u" and the other which does not. It may however, be asked if this -u of the Sawria dialect isolates the very same nouns as does the corresponding -du of the present dialect. My own findings are that, although both the lists compare well in most details, there are a few deviations. For example, in the Sawria dialect of Rajmahal and Godda, the items for 'women' – peli, 'dream' – tumgle are not -u ending nouns. Similarly, in the Malpaharia dialect, the items for 'snake' – boḍa (Sawria – ner-u), 'thread' – suta (Sawria – mer-u) are not -du ending nouns. From the point of our present analysis these differences are of little consequence. Between the Kumarbhag and the Malpaharia dialects, the items isolated by this marker are far more comparable. Furthermore, it must be made clear that the -du ending nouns are not a sub-class of nouns as such, for on the basis of gender distinction the noun class is divided first into masculine (marked with -h) and non-masculine (marked with -d) nouns. The -du class nouns do not cut across this basic dichotomy. These nouns are in fact, a sub-class of the non-masculine class, as all the -du nouns in nominative singular are marked with -d. There is no exception to this rule. But, this class cuts across the covert classification of non-masculine into feminine and neuter, as pel-du – 'woman' is a 'feminine' noun and also a -du class noun.

The following is a list of -du ending nouns.

1. akr - du	–	'new shoots'
2. akl - du	–	'a parasitic plant used as medicines'
3. ac - du	–	'thorn'
4. adr - du	–	'broken particles of corn'
5. am - du	–	'water'

6. awg - du — 'kind of honey-bee'
7. a : wqr - du — 'steam, moisture, hot wind of summer'
8. isg - du — 'kind of honey-bee'
9. isgn - du — 'oil'
10. i :lkr - du — 'kind of edible berry'
11. ul - du — 'daytime'
12. ej - du — 'bear'
13. eḍr - du — 'parakeet'
14. eṛt - du — 'bow'
15. c :q - du — 'rainy season'
15.a. e :p - du — 'fiber vine'
16. org - du — 'nail'
17. ọrg - du — 'house'
18. o :s - du — 'mushroom'
19. o : y - du — 'cattle'
20. kaṭr - du — 'rashes, skin disease'
21. kank - du — 'wood'
22. kis - du — 'pig'
23. ki :l - du — 'edible ant-eggs'
24. ki :ṛ - du — 'grass'
25. ke : tn - du — 'winnowing basket'
26. kuk - du — 'head'
27. kukṛ - du — 'portions of fibrous juicy fruit as a ripe palm'
28. ku :r - du — 'razor'
29. ga : y - du — 'cow'
30. cañj - du — 'deer'
31. cawr - du — 'abdomen, entrails'
32. ca :r - du — 'arrow'
33. cic - du — 'fire'
34. citr - du — 'porcupine'
35. cirg - du — 'summer'
36. cegl - du — 'millet husk'
37. coṫr - du — 'body dirt'
38. jañjql - du — 'sections of portions of a fruit as of an orange'
39. jabṛ - du — 'fruit pulp'

40. juṛpl - du	–	‘bush’
41. ṭu : ḍ - du	–	‘tiger’
42. ḍumbl - du	–	‘fermented grain for alcohol’
43. ta :tr - du	–	‘sickle’
44. tilṅr - du	–	‘fly’
45. ti : ql - du	–	‘rice’
46. tumgl - du	–	‘dream’
47. naql - du	–	‘epiglottis’
48. na :ñj - du	–	‘winder’
49. na : d - du	–	‘god’
50. nitl - du	–	‘crown of head’
51. no : l - du	–	‘gourd’
52. pa : n - du	–	‘fruit’
53. pa : l - du	–	‘tooth’
54. pa : w - du	–	‘path’
55. pin - du	–	‘large staff’
56. pi : k - du	–	‘excreta, dung’
57. puj - du	–	‘bird’
58. pudg - du	–	‘genital hair’
59. pu : n - du	–	‘beads’
60. pu : p - du	–	‘flowers’
61. pel - du	–	‘woman’
62. pe : n - du	–	‘louse’
63. pokl - du	–	‘silkworm’
64. poor - du	–	‘worm, caterpillar’
65. po : k - du	–	‘ant’
66. baṅgl - du	–	‘intermediate space’
67. ba : q̇l - du	–	‘spider’
68. bilṅr - du	–	‘kind of edible berry’
69. bilp - du	–	‘moon’
70. bumgl - du	–	‘kind of poisonous berry’
71. be : k - du	–	‘salt’
72. be : r - du	–	‘sun’
73. maq - du	–	‘insect’
74. man - du	–	‘tree’
75. mandr - du	–	‘medicine’
76. mang - du	–	‘buffalo’
77. marġ - du	–	‘horn’

78. mas - du — ‘axe’
79. ma :k - du — ‘flesh’
80. ma :k - du — ‘hornless deer’
81. ma : q – du — ‘night’
82. ma : s - du — ‘bamboo’
83. mi : n - du — ‘fish’
84. merg - du — ‘sky’
85. me : đ - du — ‘body’
86. me : đ - du — ‘fever’
87. qaj - du — ‘earth, soil’
88. qasr - du — ‘neck’
89. qa : n - du — ‘eye’
90. qa :l - du — ‘terraced field’
91. qa : wr - du — ‘forest’
92. qa : y - du — ‘vein’
93. qeḍ - du — ‘leg’
94. qep - du — ‘village’
95. qes - du — ‘paddy’
96. qeđw - du — ‘ear’
97. qe : ql - du — ‘earth’
98. qe : r - du — ‘chicken’
99. qe :l - du — ‘drum’
100. qe :s - du — ‘blood’
101. qocl - du — ‘bone’
102. qorp - du — ‘semen’
103. qolg - du — ‘below’
104. qo :r - du — ‘top’

3.12.1. Internal Logic of the -du Class :

It is possible that the nouns isolated by this class marker are not a haphazard collection of random items but are organised around certain ethnosemantic rationale. This rationale is to be found in the way the items or the phenomena they represent are concatenated. It must be appreciated that the -du class nouns are an important group of noun as all the three dialects isolate them covertly (See, Chapter 8). Although some differences are to be found between the dialects in assimilating and discarding elements from this domain, the main logical nexus which holds the configuration together remains intact. The comparative list of items shows that, the affected items are either redundant, ambiguous or peripheral to the main system. But before we go to discuss the questions of these details, it is of importance to know the processes which transform a formal class into a semantic or even logical one. In this connection Whorf's ideas are particularly illuminating. "As outward marks become few, the class tends to crystallize around an idea – to become more dependent on whatever synthetizing principle there may be in the meanings of its members. It may even be true that many abstract ideas arise in this way; some rather formal and not very meaningful linguistic group, marked by some overt feature, may happen to coincide very roughly with some concatenation of phenomena in such a way as to suggest a rationalization of this parallelism. In the course of phonetic change, the distinguishing mark, ending, or what not is lost, and the class from a formal to a semantic one. Its reactance is now what distinguishes it as a class, and its idea is what unifies it. As time and use go on, it becomes increasingly organised around a rationale, it attracts semantically suitable words and loses former members that are now semantically inappropriate, logic is now what holds it together, and its logic becomes a semantic associates of that unity of which the CONFIGURATIVE aspect is a bundle of nonmotor linkages mooring the whole fleet of words to their common reactance" (1959, pp.80–81). Although, in this case, the overt class marker is not lost, for all the nouns are still marked with -du, it serves only as a mnemonic device for identifying a group of items which are otherwise held together by their internal logic. This internal logic, as Levi-Strauss puts it, "works like a Kaleidoscope, an instrument which also contains bits and pieces by means of which structural patterns are realized" (1968, p.36). These patterns emerge when we try to relate the ethnosemantic contents of the items belonging to this domain. The elaboration of the lexicon along vertical dimensions of generalization and horizontal dimensions of discrimination reflects not only the importance of the objects to the way of life of the people concerned, but what is more important, projects models of intelligibility in terms of which the objects have to be first understood. If there is such a model underlying this class, it is only a tentative one mainly because the majority of items at the most specific level of generalization, combine into a few paradigm-like sets. Any complete taxonomic ordering of these sub-domains in terms of a semantic structure of the system with categorical rules has proved to be less satisfactory. But whatever ordering is there, it is sufficient to give us some insight into the Malto culture and the Malto world.

The recording of the complete set of terms by using the boundary-setting criterion -du is already given. The set, according to my data consists of 104 items, with a few doubtful items like, e : p-du – 'fiber vine', qolr-du – 'rain hat made of leaves'. Each item in the list is provided with rough denotation and a number for easy reference. The set can be resolved into following semantic subsets.

Subset–I : 'woman' 61

It is the only category of its kind and dominates the whole domain. The Malto universe already divided by a gender system into masculine and non-masculine, finds in this category the supreme symbol for the whole world. The subjective uniqueness of 'man' in this system, leaves the category 'woman' to characterize everything else of the universe. If our interpretation of the category is correct then its function is a redundant one, for it merely substitutess for an opposition, i.e., man/non-man, which is pre-existing, by virtue of the covert gender system. Therefore, this redundancy has given the category an unstable status as in some dialects it has fallen out of the system.

Subset–II : Space

This class consists of three categories, 'the top' 104, 'the bottom' 103, and 'the intermediate space' 66. These spatial categories have particularly significance when we relate these concepts to other categories, i.e., the ariel, the terrestrial and the supernatural, respectively.

Subset–III : Ariel or the Phenomena of the 'Sky' 84

This class consists of seven categories which fall into two groups; diurnal and non-diurnal.

(a) Diurnal : 'day' 11 and 'night' 81. These two categories are supplemented further by two other complementary categories like 'sun' 72 and 'moon' 69 respectively.

(b) Non-diurnal : 'summer' 35, 'rain' 15, and 'winter' 48. It is important to note that these seasonal categories are fundamentally connected with the Malto agricultural cycle. Although, they are familiar with the Hindu calendar system of 12 months, they have little idea about the six season cycle. The above three-season cycle corresponds to the three crucial phases of indigenous shifting cultivation, i.e., the summer is the season for 'clearing the forest', the rain for 'sowing' and the winter for 'harvesting'.

Subset–IV : Terrestrial or the Phenomena of 'the earth' 97

This class naturally consists of the largest number of categories and these may be grouped under the following sub-domains with reference to their common ethnosemantic reactance. The sub-domains are, elemental, nature-cultural, body, animates and plants.

(a) Elemental : 'soil' 87, 'salt' 71, 'moisture/hot air' 7, 'water' 5, and 'fire' 33. Of these five categories, the category a : wqrdu 7 is rather a difficult one. It has several meanings like, 'the sub-soil moisture content of the land' which is extremely important for the plant growth. It may mean 'water vapour' or 'mist' as seen over water holes in winter mornings. It also means, 'the current of hot wind' which blows in summer. In any case, all these categories represent certain elements of the earth and cannot be treated under any other sub-domain.

(b) Nature-culture : The domain consists of fourteen categories. 'forest' 91, 'village' 94, 'field' 90, 'road' 54, 'house' 17, 'bow' 14, 'arrow' 32. 'stick' 55, 'sickle' 43, 'axe' 78, 'razor' 28, 'winnowing basket' 25, 'drum' 99, and 'beads' 59. This domain is a continuum between the nature and the culture. The complex is articulated with four basic categories like forest - village - road - field. The ecological balance between these phenomena is indispensable for the survival of the tribe. In this context Vidyarthi says, that "the Maler culture originated, developed and even today largely flourishes in the lap of the nature. The natural setting for the Maler habitat comprises mainly of forests and hills. The influence of forest is reflected on every aspect of Maler culture and a comprehensive understanding of its culture, it appears, can be had mainly by examining it in context with its forests" (1963, p.12).

Forest – The economy of the tribe revolves round the forest.

Vidyarthi outlines the main functions of the forest under three headings –

(a) Forest as a source of good and drink,
(b) Forest as a source of providing shelter, and
(c) Forest as a source of providing raw materials for
cottage industry (1963, p.16).

The familiarity of the Maler children with this ecological setting develops gradually from the beginning of their childhood as they spend most of their time in the forest grazing cattle and collecting fruits, flowers, mushroom, roots, grasses and herbs. During the lean months, or in case of a crop failure, the forest remains the only source for food. Besides remaining a major source of food, drinks, honey and medicines for the people and the domestic animals, the forest also provides them raw materials for the preparation of their huts and many of their household articles. Bamboos, grasses, leaves, straws, vines, canes and wood are important raw materials for building a house which they get from the surrounding forest. The forest also abounds in such plants and trees which provide them with raw materials for making many goods which are used by them or are sold in the local market. Thus, a Maler village cannot be conceived without its ecological setting.

Village – Usually the high forested hills provide the sites for the Maler villages on their isolated peaks. According to Vidyarthi, "the hill villages of the Maler have a peculiar setting from the point of view of natural vegetation and topography. High on the peak of the hills, on somewhat flat land, are the small Maler villages consisting of neighbouring jungles. The somewhat slopy or undulating areas surrounding a Maler village have a number of fruit trees, wild shrubs, creepers and bamboo groves" (1963, p.13). Normally a Maler village is of a linear type running from one margin of the top of the hill to the other. The huts are arranged on both sides of a wide rocky street. As an organizational unit, every Maler village is identified by a particular name, and delimited by geographical boundaries. It has its own sacred centres and a political head called 'majye'. The number of families who live in a single village may be related through a single system of lineage. A village is usually in relationship with other neighbouring villages within a radius of ten miles. This 'extension' of the village is in forms of social, economic, ritualistic and political activities.

Field – The economy of the Maler mainly revolves round agriculture. Every family has a set of forest tracts and it selects in turn, the suitable tracts one by one for 'slash and burn' cultivation. It cannot go beyond its limited forest tract. According to Vidyarthi, the Khallu (phonemically /qaːldu/) cultivation, is marked with a series of processes of "(1) selection and cutting of forest, (2) burning and removing of wood, (3) sowing, (4) weeding, (5) watching, (6) harvesting, (7) worshipping, (8) merry making" (1963, p.33). He further observes that – 'khallu in the life of the Maler is the most central because it provides maize to them which subsists their life. It is religious because the moral and religious system is determined by it. The sacredness of the Paharia life is reflected in the sanctions and taboos associated with the khallu operation. Khallu land is considered to be sacred and "impure" persons do not dare enter the khallu land" (p.44, ff.).

Road – This represents the network of communication. As the Malers rarely have any cart or carriage of their own, the roads are merely tracks being beaten by use. These narrow paths are contrasted with saṛke, or the regular broad roads of the valley.

Thus, these four categories bring into relief the fundamental relationship between the nature and the culture or the process of transforming the nature into culture which never ceases. Further elaboration of the lexicon shows that the category of culture is extended to several particular items, the most important of which is the 'house'.

House – Structurally, the Maler house is a one-roof construction made of wood, bamboo and grass. It forms a distinct unit of the village. Functionally, it houses a single nuclear family which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal. "The family is the primary, as also the most dominant institution of the Maler villages. The major economic, social, religious and reproductive activities are centred around a Maler family. A Maler family is usually composed of husband, wife and their unmarried children who live together in a single hut and do their cooking together and for all practical purposes constitute one single economic unit" (Vidyarthi, 1963, p.74). Thus, formation of a new family entails the construction of a new house. For example, when a son is married, he makes his own hut in the same village and goes to live there with his wife.

A typical Maler hut, consists of many kinds of household and domestic objects ; such as : agricultural implements and hunting weapons ; objects of material culture or decoration. However, our lexicon includes only nine representative items of material culture and these may be grouped in the following manner with reference to their function in the Maler culture.

Hunting – Bow, arrow, stick.

Agricultural – Sickle, axe, winnowing basket.

Ritualistic – Razor. This instrument is connected with the rituals of cutting the umbilical cord by the maternal uncle.

Decorative – Beads.

Recreational – Drum.

(c) Body : This group consists of the word for 'body' 85, and various 'body parts'. It is interesting to note that only two words, i.e., 'the throbbing temple of the head as the human babies have at the time of 'birth' 50 and 'horns' 77, refer to the parts of specific kinds. All other words are applicable to bodies in general, whether of man or animal. These are : 'head' 26, 'temple' 50/'horn' 77, 'eye' 89, 'ear' 96, 'tooth' 53, 'epiglottis' 47, 'neck' 88, 'intestine' 31, 'vein' 92, 'genital hair' 58, 'nail' 16, 'leg' 93, and 'flesh' 79, 'blood' 100, 'bone' 101, 'semen' 102, 'excreta' 56, and 'body filth' 37.

(d) Animates : This group includes animal, birds, fish and bugs. The animals represent several sub-categories.

Game – 'deer' 30, 'hornless deer' 80, 'porcupine' 34.

Domestic – 'cattle' 19 and 'cow' 29 (See, foot-note 2), 'buffalo' 76, 'pig' 22.

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2 It is interesting to note that the beef-eating sections of Paharia do not have a separate word for 'cow'. For others, the item is not only borrowed from the neighbouring Indo-Aryan, but is marked as a du- class noun.

The category of 'bird' 57, consists of the generic term 'bird' and two other species, perhaps representing the domesticated and the wild or game varieties.

Domestic – 'chicken' 98.
Game – 'parakeet' 13.

Although many varieties of fish are known, only the generic term 'fish' 83 occurs in the list (See, foot-note 3). The category of 'bug' or 'insect', is an assorted list of various kinds. The markedness represents the people's concern with them rather than their usefulness. These are,

'bug' 73
'worm' 64
'honey bee' – 'two varieties' 6, 8
'silk moth' 63
'fly' 44
'spider' 67
'ant' 65
'louse' 62
'ant larva' – (these are edible) 23.

(e) Plants : This list consists of the basic classification of the plants into tree, bush and grass. Other varieties like fiber vine or mushroom which do not fall under this classification are listed separately. The other items of the list are either particular parts of plants or vegetable products.

Primary plant kinds : 'tree' 74
'bush' 40
'grass' 24

Secondary plant kinds : 'fibre yielding vine' 15.a(?)
'mushroom' 18

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3 The word for 'snake' structurally belongs here, as the corresponding Sawriya word is ner-u. But this word no longer occurs in our list. The regular word for 'snake' is boḍa.

Plant parts :
'wood' 21
'bamboo' 82
'thorn' 3
'flower' 60
'fruit' 52
'portions of ripe palm' 27
'sections of orange' 38
'fruit pulp' 39
'edible berry' – 'two kinds' 10, 68
'poisonous berry' – 'two kinds' 2, 70 (mainly used to kill fish or to poison arrow-heads)
'gourd' 51
'shoot' 1
'paddy' 95
'rice' 45
'fermented grain for alcohol' 42
'corn meal' 4
'millet husk' 36

Plant products :
'oil' 9
'medicine' 75

Subset–V : Supernatural or Phenomena of the 'intermediate space'

This list consists of four categories, 'god' 49, 'dream' 46, 'disease' 86, and 'skin disease' 20. There is compelling ethnographic evidence to show that god, dream and disease are interrelated, first because these are all supernatural phenomena and secondly the items do not fit into any other semantic subset, within the structural whole.

Thus, a tentative model can be proposed here towards a possible taxonomic relationship between different semantic subsets.

Man	Woman							
	Sky		Super-natural	Earth				
	D.	Non-D.		E.	N–C	B.	A.	P.

D.	:	Diurnal
Non-D	:	Non-diurnal
E.	:	Elemental
N–C.	:	Natural-cultural
B.	:	Body
A.	:	Animate
P.	:	Plants

It is indeed tempting to explain the logic of this classification in terms of Durkheimian "sociocentrism", which posits the centre of the first schemes of nature in society itself. For him, all logical hierarchies are only different aspects of social hierarchy, "and the unity of knowledge is nothing else than the very unity of the collectivity extended to the universe" (1903, pp.83–84). Although Durkheim sees all other classificatory systems in relation to and as a consequence of the cardinal system of totemic classification, which no doubt is untenable, for all societies with or without totemic systems do classify humans and objects according to their form, character or utility, however, the crux of his argument lies not in explaining the nature or the elements of classification but in providing a model for the development to systems of hierarchaized notions.

In this connection, it is also important to note that, although, the social and political organizations of the Malers is not based on any form of totemism, the social organization of the Oraons, a tribe which is genetically closest to the Maler (See, Chapter 1), is fundamentally totemistic. According to Roy, among the Oraons, "individual totems, sex totems are unknown. The fauna and flora of their past and present habitats naturally supply the bulk of the totem names. With the acquisition of a knowledge of agriculture and the use of metals, a few totem names have been since added" (1915, p.324). What is of interest to us is the logic of the totemic classification of this related tribe and Roy's classification consists of the following sub-classes.

(i) **Beast totems :** Ox, dog, wild cat, wild dog, squirrel, jackal, rat, common monkey, baboon, pig, tiger, field rat, fox, species of monkey, young mice.

(ii) Bird totems : Paddy bird, a small black bird with a long tail, stork, duck, vulture, species of bird, raven, hedge sparrow, cock, hawk, the Tithiocharai bird, a species of long tailed bird.

(iii) Fish and other aquatic totems : Sub-divisions of the eel, several species of fish, a large fish with thorns on the back, tortoise, crocodile, etc.

(iv) Reptiles : Cobra, snake.

(v) Vegetable totems : A species of grass, ficuss indica, several kinds of trees, sweet potato, a curry vegetable, paddy, date palm, a kind of fruit, the Mohwa tree, a kind of creeper, fruit of the Kusum tree, a kind of fruit, a curry vegetable, a kind of bush.

(vi) Mineral totems : Iron, salt.

(vii) Place totems : An embanked reservior of water, a marsh or surface spring.

(viii) Split totems : Rice soup, pig's entrails.

Comparative ethnographic materials show that, this totemic system like the classificatory system of Malto, also changes. It incorporates new items by the segmentation of a single original clan which had a whole animal for its totem into a number of totems, either of which took the name either of a part of the original animal or of a sub-species of it. On the other hand, synonyms have played a role in the merging of distinct sibs into single one. Commenting on both these processes Das and Raha say that "among the Orāòn immigrants of the Sunderban area, a number of new sibs has developed which are not found among the Orāons of Chota Nagpur. Some of the sibs of the Orāon of the Tea garden areas are quite different from those present in Ranchi district or in the Sunderban area. An interesting thing that may be noticed among the Orāons of the Sunderban is that some Orāons have kiss some suār and some kālaharin as their sib names. All these mean 'pig' . . . . The same has happened in the case of kinduar and 'shol' (meaning a kind of fish), Laban and nun (salt), Kak and kãuyā (crow) and so on. These may be local adoptations due to the effect of migration and contact" (1963, p.96).

Whatever the case may be it is rather surprising that these two tribes, separated by some one thousand years only (See, Chapter 1, for lexicostatistical findings), should develop such functionally different types of conceptual systems and if these systems are not somehow related irrespective of varied functions in the societies concerned. If the Orāon system of totems is one that is 'lived', the Maler system is primarily a 'means of thinking'. While the former being constantly subjected to the whims of demographic change, has lost the original scheme and is restructured, the latter has gained logical symmetry by contemplative intellectual operations. Therefore, the elaborateness of one system is not necessarily qualitatively different from a less elaborate one, as long as both are conceptual systems but serving different functions.

Furthermore, the classification of nouns along semantic dimensions is not so peculiar to Malto only. With reference to the other languages of this area, notably for South Munda, Mahapatra and Zide say that "Gta? – like – Sora preserves an old set of syntactic-semantic structures (reconstructable for South Munda) which use compositional 'combining forms' (CFs) of nouns in a variety of constructions" (1972, p.179) (For Sora combining forms see Mahapatra and Mahapatra, 1968). According to the authors, the semantic classification of these noun forms is made in seven semantic categories.

(i) Human/Animal: Body parts and products. This class consists of a large number of words which are body parts in general; only one specific term like 'feather', four animal product terms like egg, honey, milk and cow-dung and also the term for wound, disease.

(ii) Animal Species: This class consists of several species of animals both domestic and wild, birds, snake, fish, insects, bugs and worms.

(iii) Human Age: Kin, status. This class consists of the words for different sex groups like man/woman, age group like child/young man, identity groups like Dom/Government official and for the ghost, spirit.

(iv) Plants: This class consists of terms for different plant species and surprisingly two terms like soil and field.

(v) Plant Parts and Products: This class consists of the forms for plant parts and some products like oil, juice of the sago palm, etc.

(vi) Artifacts: This list consists of mainly the items of material culture and a few terms like, village, field, embankment, field watchman's platform, etc.

(vii) Other Natural Objects, Phenomena: This is a list consisting of various kinds of phenomena like sun-moon-star, day-night, water-fire, soil-salt-ashes, etc.

As this classification is proposed to be expanded and justified in detail by the author later, it would be premature to go into the rationale of the arrangement at this state. Unfortunately also, the items completely devoid of their ethnographic significance are mute and inarticulate. Nevertheless, the Gta? classification like the Malto has the potentiality of a system with underlying semantic principles, which may be important to its speakers in their observation, analysis and categorizing of experience. These structural-semantic patterns of a language in Hoijer's words, are needed to be covered, "even though many of these exist more as potentialities of the system than in actual usage" (1954, p.96).

CHAPTER 4

ADJECTIVE

4.1. Adjectives :

Adjectives are a class of words which occur as attributes to the nouns. Adjectives when occur in attributive position do not take any marker, but when they occur in predicative position they are marked by personal suffixes. For example,

(i) In the attributive position –

be:ḍo maleh	–	'big man'
be:ḍo gaṛid	–	'big cart'
be:ḍo puṛad	–	'big belly'

(ii) In the predicative position –

e:n be:ḍo - n	–	'I am big'
ni:n be:ḍo - y	–	'you are big'
a:h be:ḍo - h	–	'he is big'
a:d be:ḍo - d	–	'she is big'
e:m be:ḍo - m	–	'we (excl.) are big'
na:m be:ḍo - y	–	'we (incl.) are big'
ni:m be:ḍo - r	–	'you (pl.) are big'
a:r be:ḍo - r	–	'they are big

Structurally, the adjectives fall into two major classes, simple and complex.

4.2. Simple Adjectives :

Simple adjectives are monomorphemic words.

be:ḍo	–	'large'
qa:nḍo	–	'smelling'
kuṛni	–	'hot'

kuṭo	'curved'
ca:po	'short', etc.

When simple adjectives ending in -e occur in attributive position the -e is dropped.

nekute	'good'	nekut piṭad	'good bread'
qaṛqe	'bitter'	qaṛq pa:ndu	'bitter fruit'
qe:ne	'raw'	qe:n ṭa:ṭged	'raw mango'
ote	'heavy'	ot baksad	'heavy box'
pu:ne	'new	pu:n daṛid	'new cloth'

The adjectives may be reduplicated. The iterative adjectives are of two types, i.e., those which are partially modified when reduplicated and those which are not modified.

labo	'good'	lab labo	'good good'
moja	'good'	moj moja	'good good'
digṛo	'long'	dig digṛo	'long long'
kuṛni	'hot'	kuṛ kuṛni	'hot hot'

Apparently, there are no fixed rule of reduplication for the above set of adjectives.

The unmodified iterative adjectives are –

moṭa	'fat'	moṭa moṭa	'fat fat'
nekut	'good'	nekut nekut	'good good'

The other group of simple stems which function as attributes to nouns are demonstrative and interrogative adjectives.

i:	i: maleh	'this man'
	i: kolme	'this pen'
a:	a: maleh	'that man'
	a: kolme	'that pen'
ik	ik maleh	'which man?'
	ik ra:jah	'which king?'
indr	indr ja:ti	'what caste?'
	indr bora	'what sack?'

4.3. Complex Adjectives :

A complex adjective stem consists of a base and formatives. The following is a list of different adjectival formative morphemes.

(i) -o formative with underlying noun bases.

qe : s -du	'blood'	qe : s - o	'red'
qe : p - du	'village'	qe : p - o	'belonging to a village'
marg - du	'horn'	marg - o	'possessing horns'
na : d - du	'god'	na : d - o	'belonging to god'
qawr - du	'forest'	qawr - o	'wild'
ba : lke	'turmeric'	ba : lk - o	'yellow'
paṭṛa	'board'	paṭṛ - o	'flat'

-o formative with underlying verb bases.

a : cr	'to become watery'	a : cr - o	'watery'
alkr	'to open'	alkr - o	'open'
a : qr	'to mature'	a : qr - o	'mature'
eṭgr	'to break'	eṭgr - o	'broken'
circ	'to strike'	circ - o	'flint'
aṅg̣l	'to open mouth'	aṅg̣l - o	'open mouthed'
pac	'to become old'	pac - o	'old'

A large number of -o ending adjectives, however, cannot be traced to any underlying base.

banḍo	'tailless'
banḍyo	'short'
bambro	'deep toned'
bo : pro	'open'
picg̣lo	'slack'
pato	'sharp'
lagṛo	'long legged'

lolro	–	‘wide’
sopṛo	–	‘rotten’
botṛo	–	‘dull as instruments’
ca ːpo	–	‘low’
ci ːqo	–	‘shrill voiced’
ciño	–	‘slender’
cipṭo	–	‘flat’
cu ːqṛo	–	‘narrow’
qambṛo	–	‘naked’
dabṛo	–	‘thick’
obo	–	‘coarse’
dordo	–	‘congealed’
ḍa ːbro	–	‘broad’
cecro	–	‘dilapidate’
toqṛo	–	‘short’
qa ːnḍo	–	‘fetid’
busṛo	–	‘dirty’
poṅro	–	‘unsecured’
be ːḍo	–	‘big’
ki ːro	–	‘dark’
digṛo	–	‘far’
ciglo	–	‘unkempt’

(ii) -ro formative with underlying non-verbal bases.

ac - du	–	‘thorn’	–	ac - ro	–	‘thorny’
ga ː đi	–	‘wound’	–	ga ːd - ro	–	‘person having wounds’
oṛme	–	‘ash’	–	‘oṛm - ro	–	‘ash coloured’
embe	–	‘sweet’	–	emb - ro	–	‘sweetish’

There is a variant -sro which occurs only with following bases.

qeđw - du	–	‘ear’	–	‘qeđw - sro	–	‘large eared’
am - du	–	‘water’	–	‘am - sro	–	‘watery’
(no corresponding base)			–	gil - sro	–	‘large toothed’

-ro formative with underlying verb bases.

a ːl	–	‘to clear as water’	–	a ːl - ro	–	‘transparent’

nih	'to strike'	nih - ro	'struck'
igj	'to bare teeth'	igj - ro	'wry mouthed'
calg̣	'to split'	calg̣ - ro	'split'
caq̇	'to pierce'	caq̇ - ro	'pierced'
ceñ	'to smell'	ceñj - ro	'smelling'
dolṅ	'to shake'	dolṅ - ro	'shaking'
minq	'to wink'	minq - ro	'pig eyed'
gi : nđy	'to cut unevenly'	gi : nđ - ro	'uneven'
jinp	'to shine'	jinp - ro	'white'
kit	'to rot'	kit - ro	'rotten'
uṛp	'to bore hole'	ur̥p - ro	'bored'
maṛg̣	'to become black'	maṛg̥ - ro	'black'
toq	'to finish'	toq - ro	'finished'
qa : y	'to dry'	qa : y - ro	'dried'
pu : g̥	'to swell'	pu : g̥ - ro	'swollen'
nisg̣	'to smoothen'	nisg̣ - ro	'smooth'

(iii) A small class of adjectives which qualify human nouns are differentiated for sex. The rule is,

final -V ⟶ -i/when female.

Male	Female	
bobe	bobi	'dumb'
bo : ṛo	bo : ṛi	'toothless'
kubṛo	kubṛi	'hunchback'
kekro	kekri	'unkempt hair'
qodṛo	qodṛi	'clumsy'
qoṭro	qoṭri	'blind'
pomro	pomri	'deaf'
ṭera	ṭeri	'squint-eye'
leṅṛa	leṅṛi	'left handed'
lela	leli	'foolish'

In the attributive position, the final vowel is dropped if it is -e, as in bob maleh – 'dumb man'.

With the following set the sex differentiation is realized as,

final -wa → -wi/when female

Some of these have underlying noun bases.

Base		Male	Female	
laji	'shyness'	lajwa	lajwi	'shy'
ṭuṭa	'leprosy'	ṭuṭwa	ṭuṭwi	'leper'
(without underlying base)		laṅwa	laṅwi	'lecherous'
qo : qe	'back'	qo : qwa	(no female form)	'follower'
qe : l	'drum'	qe : lwa		'drummer'
ki : ṛe	'hunger'	ki : ṛwa		'hungry'
paki	'hair'	pakwa		'hairy'
ḍuḍo	'gourd shell'	ḍuḍwa		'big bellied'
ḍole	'drum'	ḍolwa		'drummer'
ka : je	'work'	ka : jwa		'worker'

With the following group of adjectives the sex differentiation is realized as,

-ta : we → -ta : ni/when female

Base		Male	Female	
pesa	'money'	pesata : we	pesata : ni	'moneyed'
bo : le	'strength'	bo : lta : we	bo : lta : ni	'strong'
ba : na	'mischief'	ba : nata : we	ba : nata : ni	'mischievous'
budi	'cunning'	budita : we	budita : ni	'clever'
akile	'wisdom'	akilta : we	akilta : ni	'wise'

A few derived adjectives occur with the female suffix.

Base			
qe : s	'blood'	qe : sta : ni	'bloody'
bise	'poison'	bista : ni	'poisonous'

ba : ṛi	– 'food which is not eaten'	– ba : ṛita : ni	– 'not polluted'
bacru	– 'calf'	– bacruta : ni	– 'a cow having calf'
maqo	– 'child'	– maqota : ni	– 'mother with child, pregnant'
pakṛa	– 'wing'	– pakṛata : ni	– 'winged'
ac	– 'thorn'	– acta : ni	– 'thorny'

(iv) The following group of bases take the suffix -te, and unlike all other -e ending adjectives, the final -e is not always dropped.

Base		Adjective	Examples	
pisi	– 'low'	piste	– piste tebṛe	– 'lower s lip'
maji	– 'middle'	majte	– majte aṅli	– 'middle finger'
meca	– 'up'	mecte	– mecte tebṛe	– 'upper lip'
qo : q	– 'back'	qo : qte	– qo : qte gaṛi	– 'following cart'
cewru	– 'yesterday'	cewte	– cewte sa : ge	– 'greens of yesterday'
ne : la	– 'tomorrow'	ne : lte	– ne : lte ka : je	– 'tomorrow's work'
ina	– 'today'	inte	– inte ṭaḍi	– 'today's alcohol'

(v) The following group of bases take the suffix -to.

Base		Adjective	
male	– 'man'	mal - to	– 'masculine'
peldu	– 'woman'	pel - to	– 'effiminate'
muṛse	– 'man'	muṛs - to	– 'man-like'
nañjdu	– 'winter'	nañj - to	– 'of the winter, i.e., millet'

(vi) The following group of bases take the suffix -balo.

Base		Adjective	
kukdu	– 'head'	kuk - balo	– 'headless'

pa:ldu	'tooth'	pal - balo	'toothless'
be:kdu	'salt'	be:k - balo	'saltless'
beku	'stalk'	beku - balo	'stalkless'

(vii) The following group of bases take the suffix -la:go. When the base is -e ending, the final -e is dropped.

Base		Adjective	
be:ḍo	'big'	be:ḍo - la:go	'biggish'
tise	'sour'	tis - la:go	'somewhat sour'
embe	'sweet'	emb - la:go	'somewhat sweet'
qaṛqe	'bitter'	qaṛq - la:go	'somewhat bitter'
sarwe	'small'	sarw - la:go	'somewhat small'
qe:ne	'unripe'	qe:n - la:go	'somewhat unripe'
aṭge	'near'	aṭg - la:go	'somewhat near'

4.4. Nominal Adjectives:

Many noun words function as adjectival in endocentric compounds with noun heads.

baṛe	'banian tree	baṛ ceya	'shadow of banian tree'
ma:s	'bamboo'	ma:s ca:rdu	'arrow made of bamboo'
male	'man'	mal kukdu	'man's head'
kuri	'cup'	kuri ḍobri	'cup's bottom'
eḍr	'parakeet'	eḍr maqo	'parakeet's chick'

Other nominals which can occur in the same position are the genetive forms of the pronouns like, eṅ – 'my', nam – 'our', taṅ – 'his', ne:k – 'whose', etc.

eṅ muṛse	'my husband'
taṅ ba:yi	'his sister'
nam desi	'our country'
ne:k taṅg̣adi	'whose daughter?'

The pronominal adjectives which also occur in this position are,

i: - tar	'these'
a: - tar	'those'

and,

i : - nond – 'this much'
a : -nond – 'that much'
e :n - nond – 'how much'

4.5. Verbal Adjectives :

The four classes of non-finite verbals which function as adjectives are as follows :

(i) The present participle or verb base + u, words.

tungru maler – 'people who have gathered'
co :yu boḍa – 'snake that flies'
bika mañyu maleh – 'the man who begs'

(ii) The past participles or verb base + pe, words. The final -e is dropped in the attributive position.

boṅgp bilpdu – 'running away moon', i.e., 'waning moon'
kuṛp cete – 'baked fish'
keyp pacođ – 'dead woman'

(iii) The habitual participle or verb base + po, words.

nahpo kaṭi – 'stick used for striking (drum)'
cuypo daṛi – 'cloth for weaving'
mo :qpo si :jeđ – 'things for eating'

(iv) The gerund or verb base + e, words. This is not a very productive process as most of these constructions are limited only to a few idiomatic expressions. The final -e is dropped in the attributive position.

erg tilnrdu – 'excreting fly', i.e., 'green bottle fly'
onq maleh – 'drinking man', i.e., 'a drunkard'
elc maleh – 'frightened man', i.e., 'a coward'

4.6. Adjective Classes :

Adjectives are grouped into two main classes, qualitative adjectives and quantitative adjectives. The qualitative adjectives do not include the numerals. The quantitative adjectives include numerals in a bound or free from. The qualitative adjectives denote general qualities of objects like, colour, size, taste, etc., and these are dealt extensively in the above sections.

The quantitative adjectives are either a numeral or a numeral classifier. The Malto numeral system is basically a system of 'one score' – ko :ṛi. All the free numerals are borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages. These are,

ei : ke – 'one'
du : ye – 'two'
ti : ne – 'three'
ca : re – 'four'
pa : ce – 'five'
so : ye – 'six'
sa : te – 'seven'
a : ṭe – 'eight'
noye – 'nine'
da : se – 'ten'
egare – 'eleven'
ba : re – 'twelve'
te : re – 'thirteen'
ca : da – 'fourteen'
pandra – 'fifteen'
sola – 'sixteen'
satra – 'seventeen'
aṭara – 'eighteen'
unes – 'nineteen'
ko : ṛi – 'twenty'

Higher numerals are counted as

ko : ṛi + ond e : ke – 'one score one'
ko : ṛi + ond du : ye – 'one score two'

ti:n ko:ṛi e:ke – 'three scores and one'
pa:c ko:ṛi – 'five scores' or 'one hundred'

-ond in these numerals is the bound morpheme for 'one'.

Unlike the numerals, the numeral classifier is a construction consisting of a numeral and a classifier which indicates certain qualitative features of the referents of the nouns with which they co-occur. Except for the numbers 'one' and 'two', all other numerals are same for both the classes of quantitative adjectives.

Like all adjectives, the numeral classifiers when occur in predicative position take personal suffixes.

e:n orte - n – 'I am one (alone)'
ni:n orte - y – 'you are one (alone)' etc

In the attributive position they are uninflected,

ort maleh – 'one man'
ort maqođ – 'one girl', etc.

The morpheme structure of the numeral phrase is numeral classifier, when the number is 'three' or above and the number is not a 'group', such as ko:ṛi – 'a score' or ajare – 'a thousand'. For example,

tini jen maler – 'three – classifier – men'
tini maq o:ydu – 'three – classifier – cows'
tini kaṛsa amdu – 'three – classifier – water'

The other variant structure is morphological, i.e., classifier + number, when the numbers are 'one' and 'two', and the noun is 'non-human'. For example,

maq - ond o:ydu – 'one cow' – classifier+numeral – noun
maq - s o:ydu – 'two cows' – classifier+numeral – noun
top - ond pu:pdu – 'one bundh of flowers' – classifier+ numeral – noun
top - s pu:pdu – 'two bunch of flowers' – classifier+ numeral+noun

When the noun is 'human' portmanteau forms ort – 'one human' and jo:ṛond or irw 'two humans' occur.

Other morphemes which occur with the numeral classifiers are -o, -qadi and -nond. When one of these morphemes occurs in a numeral classifier word, it replaces the numbers. In other words, these morphemes and the numbers are mutually exclusive.

(i) The classifier +o may be called the 'indefinite classifier' pa:n - o.

a:h pa:no oṛg̣ik aṛsyah – 'he reached a certain house'

maq - o

a:h maqo goṛo cadyah – 'he selected a certain horse'

(ii) The other two morphemes -qadi and -nond occur only after the 'indefinite base'.

orto - qadi	–	'only one (human)'
maqo - qadi	–	'only one (non-human animate)'
ḍaṛo - qadi	–	'only one (large long object)'

Similarly,

orto - nond	–	'one by one (human)'
maqo - nond	–	'one by one (non-human animate)'
ḍaṛo - nond	–	'one by one (large long object)'

4.7. Numeral Classifiers:

Morphologically and syntactically, numeral classifiers form a finite sub-class of Malto adjectives. The classifiers are predominantly of monosyllabic or disyllabic structure. The classifiers which occur exclusively in a noun phrase, also occur as natural responses to the questions e:no guṛ – 'how many?' and e:nond – 'how much?'. The Malto numeral classifiers are obligatory in numeral phrases. In all instances of enumeration of objects, a speaker must make a decision as to which of a number of alternative classifiers to employ in terms of some qualitative feature of the object. Thus, numeral classifiers are linguistic markers which indicate certain physical attributes which a set of objects may manifest.

It has been already mentioned that quantifier adjectives have two kinds of structure.

(i) Number – classifier (noun) when the number is ‘three’ or above.

(ii) Classifier + number (noun) when the number is ‘one’ or ‘two’.

The bound morphemes which occur in the second structure are -ond – ‘one’ and -s – ‘two’. These numbers may be treated as allomorphs of the free forms e:ke – ‘one’ and du:ye – ‘two’ respectively.

A variant of the structure (ii), also occurs when the noun is ‘human’. These are fused forms and are non-segmentable.

These classifiers which occur in the structure (i), are treated as basic and other forms are treated as variants. Morphophonemically, all classifiers having phonemic structure CV(C)CV alternate with CV(C)C when followed by the morphemes -ond or -s. For example,

ḍaṛa → ḍaṛ
paṛa → paṛ
pula → pul
kanḍa → kanḍ, etc.

However, when the final vowel is -i, it alternates with y when followed by -ond (See, Morphophonemic rule 2.11. iv).

Numeral classifiers are found throughout South-East Asia, in languages of all genetic affiliations – Thai, Mon Khmer, Tibeto-Burman, Malayo-Polynesian, Chinese and they are even found in a number of Indo-Aryan languages like, Oriya and Bengali (Emeneau, 1956, p.647 ff; Burling, 1965, p.244). These peculiar processes of categorizing the nouns along certain semantic dimensions, revealing highly differentiated perceptual and conceptual referents although do not seem like characteristic of the major Dravidian languages of India, Malto, the northern most Dravidian language of India, is clearly an exception. With regard to the numeral classifiers, Malto enjoys certain special position for having the “most complex” system of all, among languages of this area (Emeneau, 1956, p.649).

Some reference to Malto numeral classifiers are found in various works (Emeneau, 1956 ; Sengupta, 1974 ; Bhattacharya, 1975), but these are all based upon Droese's material which exclusively deals with only Sawria dialect. Moreover, these studies are neither detailed in the specification of the semantic features of individual classifiers nor do they specify the relationships of classifiers to one another. There is also reason to believe that, Droese's inventory of these classifiers, which serves as the source for all sorts of studies, is not complete for that dialect.

Ethnosemantically, the numeral classifiers are of particular interest, for as Berlin says, "they indicate, with a high degree of specificity, certain qualitative features of the referents of the nouns with which they occur" (Berlin, 1968, p.20). There is a possibility that the 'system of meaning' has a direct correlation with the cognitive style – a style characterized by the principles by which people in a culture construe their world. In order to understand this hypothesis, we may ask, from what substantive theoretical position the methodological concern for the system of semantics is actually derived?

4.7.1. Ethnosemantic Methodology :

Delineating the outlines of this theoretical position, Kay posits the following premises (Kay, 1970).

(1) Culture is essentially a matter of shared cognition.

(2) Human cognition is not in principle unamenable to rational enquiry.

(3) Among the relatively concrete and understandable phenomena at our disposal, language and speech appear to most likely express what we suspect may be the organizing principles of human thought.

According to the first postulate, culture is not at all the totality of mere "material representations" which Goodenough spells out as "things, people behaviour and emotions" (1957). It is imperative to find out the logical nexus of concepts in terms of which the material representations are actually organized in the minds of men. "Thus, the object of study is not these material phenomena themselves, but the way they are organized in the minds of men. Cultures then are not material phenomena; they are cognitive organizations of material phenomena. Consequently, cultures are neither described by mere arbitrary lists of anatomical traits and institutions such as house type, family type, economic type, and personality type, nor are they necessarily equated with some overall integrative pattern of these phenomena. Such descriptions may tell us something about the way an anthropologist thinks about a culture, but there is little, if any, reason to believe that they tell us anything of how the people of some culture think about their culture" (Tayler, 1969, p.3). Wallace, stressing the same cognitive aspect of the culture says that, "by culture I mean those sets of equivalent or identical learned meanings by which the members of a society do in fact define a stimuli. Culture, in this usage, thus is not behaviour nor products of behaviour but inferences from the cognitive content maintained by one or more of a group of interdependent organisms. A culturally organized society is accordingly one whose organization depends heavily upon the patterned relationship of the meanings of stimuli learned by the members of the society". And he goes on to say that "in order for an individual to participate satisfactorily in a culturally sanctioned transaction, he must be able to attend, during the duration of transaction, to the relevant to maintain cognitive representations of a number of predicates simultaneously and continuously (whether consciously or not) . . . . otherwise his behaviour will appear bizairre, "crazy" to his partner" (Wallace, p.137) (underlined portions are mine).

As regards the second postulate, the enquiry is phrased in two sets, i.e.,

(i) What material phenomena are significant for the people of some culture?

(ii) How do they organize these phenomena?

The questions are based on the evidence that many people do not see things the way we do, because the way we advance information about these things, i.e., the way the defining attributes or the discernible features for these are processed are so different. This is due to the fact that we do not receive information about the things from the things themselves, but rather learn these features which are thought to be significant in defining a thing from our fellows as part of our cultural equipment. In otherwords, the cognitive features are not the property of material phenomena at all, but are handed down by the culture itself in terms of which the material phenomena are to be conceived.

Now, this brings us to the third phase of the theory, which in fact followed from the position already taken at the second. If the culturally significant cognitive features are to be learned from our fellows, then they must be communicable. Making this point Frake says that "culturally significant cognitive features must be communicable between persons in one of the standard systems of the culture. A major share of these features will undoubtedly be codable in a society's most flexible and productive communication device, its language" (1962). Therefore, the cognitive anthropology is committed to study the cognitive world of a community not just by tapping any source, but that source about which it knows where to begin and how to begin. This is precisely what Frake means when he says "to the extent that cognitive coding tends to be linguistic and tends to be efficient, the study of the referential use of standard, readily elicitable linguistic responses – or terms – should provide a faithfull beginning point for mapping a cognitive system. And with verbal behaviour we know how to begin".

But this beginning, as far as the methodology of the ethnosemantics is concerned was made predominantly in a single lexicon area, i.e., kinship lexicon, and it is yet to free itself from this early preoccupation to gain sufficient applicability to other areas of lexicon. The componential analysis of terms which appeared to be the ultimate aim of all such analyses has lately given way to other forms of possible semantic organization of the lexicon. However, even if the analysis of the lexicon in terms of distinctive features or components remains essential, there is no good reason to think why the analytical steps adopted for componential analysis of a kinship lexicon should not be equally useful for analyzing other areas of the lexicon. Following Wallace and Atkins we may give the major steps to be taken to analyse a lexicon (1960, pp.58–80).

(1) The recording of a complete set (or a defined subset) of the terms using boundary setting criteria or common inclusion within the extension of a cover term.

(2) The definition of these terms.

(3) The identification in terms of conceptual dimensions each of whose values ("components") is signified by one or more of the terms.

(4) The definition of each term as a specific combination or set of combinations of the components.

(5) A statement of the semantic relationship among the terms and of the structural principles of this terminological system.

The methodological steps suggested by Lounsbury are much more general and these can be applied to the total field of descriptive semantic analysis of lexicon and not only to the kinship lexicon (1963, p.574). These are,

(1) the compilation of raw lexicographic data on particular denotations,

(2) the assembling of the denotata of each single linguistic form as a semantic class of objects, or designatum,

(3) the discovery – when possible – of the classificatory dimensions imposed upon the field by native linguistic usage,

(4) the specification of the distinctive features defining each of the constituent semantic classes, and

(5) an ordering of the semantic units of the various hierarchical levels within the total structure of the system.

With this, we can now consider the basic organizational types which characterize different semantic domains. These are generally of three types, taxonomies, paradigms and tree. These are all semantic structures derived from the continuous combination of relations among properties. Properties may be lexemes or semantic features. But these three types do not exhaust all possibilities of semantic structuring. For example, it has been claimed that "folk taxonomies are not necessarily hierarchical; they are better represented by a "spheres of influence" model than by a "family tree" model" (Bright and Bright, 1965, p.75).

However, taxonomies, paradigms and trees are the three types of semantic structures which are widely dealt by ethnosemantists. The following is a brief description of these structural types.

Taxonomy – In a taxonomy, categories are hierarchically ordered by relations of contrast and inclusion. Categories at the same level contrast with one another while categories at lower levels are included in categories of higher levels. Categories of the same level differ from one another, but when included in the same higher level category are somehow like one another. It is for this reason that a folk taxonomy is but the first step in a semantic analysis, for there must be some reason behind this arbitrary neutralization of difference at higher levels. In general, this corresponds to our intuition that certain things go together because they share some underlying element. The next step in semantic analysis then is to discover these elements. By discovering the underlying features shared by things which are alike, but not shared by things which are not alike, we complete the second stage of semantic analysis.

Paradigms and Trees – Like a taxonomy, a paradigm arranges its components on the basis of their sameness and difference. But unlike a taxonomy, the multiple components of a paradigm cannot be arranged hierarchically, for they are not ordered by inclusion. Instead, they are ordered by simultaneous intersection.

By contrast, the features in a tree do not intersect one another simultaneously and they contrast on only one dimension at a time. Relationships in a tree are expressed as dichotomous oppositions of components selected one at a time.

4.7.2. Analysis of Numeral Classifiers :

Now, following the methodological steps for the structural semantic analysis of lexicon, i.e., (1) recording of the complete set of terms belonging to a field, (2) definition of these terms (3) classificatory dimensions imposed upon the field, (4) specification of distinctive features and (5) ordering of the semantic units within the total structure of the system, an attempt will be made here to give a comprehensive description of the numeral classifiers in ethnosemantic terms. The specific numeral classifier following noun indicates not only the number of items which are counted, but, what we may call, the 'status' of an object, the 'state' of an object or the 'quantity' of an object that is counted. With reference to these three kinds of referents the classifiers fall into three major groups,

(1) Classifiers which specify the status of an object,

(2) Classifiers which specify the state of an object, and

(3) Classifiers which specify the quantity of an object as measured along some dimensions.

(1) Status Classifiers :

All nouns which co-occur with 'non-unique' and 'unique' classifiers are 'discrete individual entities'. The domain of 'discrete individual objects' are marked by a set of mutually exclusive morphemes ; classifiers with 'live' and 'shaped' referents and classifiers with 'unique' referents. The classifiers are listed in their basic forms and are illustrated with numeral ti :ni – 'three'.

(a) Non-unique Classifiers :–

The non-unique classifiers have 'live' and 'shaped' referents.

(i) Classifiers with 'live' referents.

jen – 'human' ; male – 'man'
peldu – 'woman'
tañg̣ade – 'brother'
qalwe – 'thief'
cer̥g̣ni – 'witch', etc.

e.g., ti:ni jen maler – 'three – classifier – men'
ti:ni jen qalwer – 'three – classifier – thieves'
ti:ni jen ceṛger – 'three – classifier – witches'

maq – 'non-human' :

goṛo	–	'horse'
mangdu	–	'buffalo'
pujḋu	–	'bird'
boḍa	–	'snake'
lenḍe	–	'earthworm'
bu:te	–	'ghost', etc.

e.g., ti:ni maq goṛo – 'three – classifier – horses'
ti:ni maq tilhrdu – 'three – classifier – flies'
ti:ni maq bu:te – 'three – classifier – ghosts'

(ii) Classifiers with 'shaped' referents.

ḍaṛa – 'long, large objects' :

ma:sdu	–	'bamboo'
ḍahṛi	–	'branch'
bondke	–	'gun'
qeḍdu	–	'leg'
ḍimba	–	'penis'
margdu	–	'horn'
nadi	–	'river', etc.

e.g., ti:ni ḍaṛa ma:sdu – 'three – classifier – bamboos'
ti:ni ḍaṛa qeḍdu – 'three – classifier – legs'
ti:ni ḍaṛa nadi – 'three – classifier – rivers'

kaṭi – 'long, small objects' :

te:qṛi	–	'needle'
kolme	–	'pen'
ca:rdu	–	'arrow'
gasi	–	'grass'
ta:li	–	'hair'
acdu	–	'thorn'
biṛi	–	'biri'
cabi	–	'key', etc.

e.g., ti:ni kaṭi te:qṛi – 'three – classifier – needles'
ti:ni kaṭi ta:li – 'three – classifier – hair'
ti:ni kaṭi cabi – 'three – classifier – keys'

panda – 'long, flexible objects' :

dawṛa	–	'rope'
pita	–	'ribbon'
qoli	–	'tail'
pa:wdu	–	'road'
ca:me	–	'song'
madṛi	–	'mantra', etc.

e.g., ti:ni panda dawṛa – 'three – classifier – ropes'
ti:ni panda pa:wdu – 'three – classifier – roads'
ti:ni panda ca:me – 'three classifier – songs'

paṛa – 'long pods/fruits' :

kaldi	–	'banana'
simbi	–	'pod beans'
qosre	–	'string beans'
sañjoṛi	–	'drum sticks', etc.

e.g., ti:ni paṛa kaldi – 'three – classifier – bananas'
ti:ni paṛa simbi – 'three – classifier – beans'
ti:ni paṛa jiña – 'three – classifier – gourds'

paṭa – 'flat, broad objects' :

badli	–	'cloud'
masdu	–	'axe'
kake	–	'comb'
piṭa	–	'cake'
tari	–	'dish'
kaṭe	–	'bed'
taṛte	–	'tongue'
po:te	–	'vagina', etc.

e.g., ti:ni paṭa badli – 'three – classifier – clouds'
ti:ni paṭa kake – 'three – classifier – combs'
ti:ni paṭa taṛte – 'three – classifier – tongues'

There is another form paṭṛa, which freely varies with paṭa. It is also noted that paṭa occurs as a classifier with objects which come in pair, as in,

paṭ - ond jota – 'one shoe'
paṭ - ond baṛdi – 'one bullock'

On the basis of this distribution, it would be necessary to treat these as separate homophonous classifiers, one which occurs with 'flat, broad objects' and the other with 'paired objects'. The former belongs to the group of status classifiers and the latter to the quantity classifiers.

pata – 'flat, broad, thin objects' :

a:tg̣e	'leaf'
kagte	'paper'
ciṭi	'letter'
lo:ṭe	'paper money', etc.

e.g., ti:ni pata a:tg̣e – 'three – classifier – leaves'
ti:ni pata kagte – 'three – classifier – papers'
ti:ni pata lo:ṭe – 'three – classifier – notes'

kanḍa – 'flat, broad, cotton objects' :

penṭe, sohti	'pants'
komle	'blanket'
keta, dokṛi	'rags'
cadre	'chadar'
moja	'socks'

e.g., ti:ni kanḍa penṭe – 'three – classifier – pants'
ti:ni kanḍa dokṛi – 'three – classifier – rags'
ti:ni kanḍa komle – 'three – classifier – blankets'

goṭ – 'round, heavy objects and miscellaneous objects'

kukdu	'head'
qa:ndu	'eye'
patli	'pot'

kuwa – 'well'
caka – 'wheel'
oṛgdu – 'house'
botle – 'bottle'
goga – 'stone'
ti:qldu – 'rice'
qe:r pa:ndu – 'egg'
bi:nke – 'star'
bilpdu – 'moon'
tumgldu – 'dream', etc.

e.g., ti:ni goṭ pa:ndu – 'three – classifier – fruits'
ti:ni goṭ bi:nke – 'three – classifier – stars'
ti:ni goṭ tumgldu – 'three – classifier – dreams'

This morpheme has two allomorphs,

pa:n – which occurs only before -ond – 'one'
panḍ – which occurs only before -s – 'two'

pula – 'round, light objects' :

pu:pdu – 'flower'
o:sdu – 'mushroom'
ja:gu – 'cooked rice'
lawa – 'popcorn'
lahri – 'popped rice', etc.

e.g., ti:ni pula pu:pdu – 'three – classifier – flowers'
ti:ni pula o:sdu – 'three – classifier – mushrooms'
ti:ni pula lawa – 'three – classifier – popcorns'

(b) Unique Classifiers :–

Unlike the non-unique classifiers, these 'echo' classifiers, as Burling calls them, are applicable only to a narrowly restricted set of nouns, and mostly to a single noun only (1965, p.250). Invariably, the classifier is identical in form to the noun it classifies. The list is exhaustive according to my data, but a few more forms may turn up.

qep – 'village
    ti :ni qep qepdu – 'three – classifier – villages'

man – 'tree'
    ti :ni man mandu – 'three – classifier – trees'

ki :ṛ – 'grass'
    ti :ni ki :ṛ ki :ṛdu – 'three – classifier – grass'

kaṛi – 'hole, den, cave'
    ti :ni kaṛi kaṛi – 'three – classifier – holes'

kuji – 'shadow, reflection'
    ti :ni kuji kuji – 'three – classifier – shadows'

Given this paradigm of 'discrete individual objects' as qualified by the unique classifiers, qep, man, ki :ṛ, kuji and the non-unique classifiers, jen, maq, ḍaṛa, kaṭi, panda paṛa, paṭa, pata, kanḍa, goṭ, pula, and the rough semantic definitions of the individual classifiers belonging to this set, it is now possible to identify the dimensions of meaning underlying the field and to map the values or the distinctive features of meaning on these dimensions on to the set of terms (See, cf. Lounsbury, 1964; Berlin, 1968). The aim of this analysis is to isolate in the most economical and non-redundant terms the relevant semantic components constituting each classifier what one must know in order to categorize objects correctly.

Componential definitions of numeral classifiers.

Semantic domain –,'discrete individual objects'.

Dimensions		Values
A. 'membership'	:	unique (a^1), non-unique (a^2)
B. 'animateness'	:	animate (b^1), inanimate (b^2)
C. 'shape'	:	long (c^1); broad (c^2), round (c^3)
D. 'saliency'	:	high (d^1), low (d^2)
E. 'specification'	:	specific (e^1), general (e^2)

To this dimensional analysis of the field, and components that constitute it, the following rewriting rules may be introduced to account for the extensional meaning of some of the basic components. This formulation is necessary to explain the variables at realization level, in different contexts. The rules are,

(i) d^2 'low saliency' → 'non-human' in the context 'animate'
'flexible' in the context 'long'
'thin' in the context 'broad'
'light' in the context 'round'

(ii) e^1 'specific' → 'fruit' in the context 'long'
'cotton' in the context 'broad'

Componential Definitions :

jen	:	a^2	b^1		d^1	
maq	:	a^2	b^1		d^2	
ḍaṛa	:	a^2	b^2	c^1	d^1	
kaṭi	:	a^2	b^2	c^1		
panda	:	a^2	b^2	c^1	d^2	e^2
paṛa	:	a^2	b^2	c^2		e^1
paṭa	:	a^2	b^2	c^2	d^1	
pata	:	a^2	b^2	c^2	d^2	
kanḍa	:	a^2	b^2	c^2	d^2	e^1
goṭ	:	a^2	b^2	c^3	d^1	
pula	:	a^2	b^2	c^3	d^2	
qep	:	a^1				
man	:	a^1				
kaṛi	:	a^1				
kuji	:	a^1				
ki:ṛ	:	a^1				

To sum up, the status classifiers of Malto divide the nouns into two subsets, discrete individual objects and non-discrete objects. The discrete objects are also of two types, unique objects and non-unique objects. The non-unique objects are either live or shaped. The live objects are further sub-divided into two subsets : human (+ jen) and non-human (+ maq). The shaped objects are also sub-divided into three subsets : one – dimensional or characteristically long objects, two – dimensional or characteristically broad objects and three – dimensional or characteristically round objects. Each of these subsets of shaped nouns are subclassified into two or more classes.

(1) Long	–	large (+ ḍaṛa) small (+ kaṭi) flexible (+ panda) fruits (+ paṛa)
(2) Broad	–	thick (+ paṭa) thin (+ pata) cotton (+ kanḍa)
(3) Round	–	heavy (+ goṭ) light (+ pula)

(2) State Classifiers :

These classifiers are but a few in Malto and these are neutral to the basic discrete/non-discrete opposition of the nouns. They qualify the state or the condition of the nouns irrespective of their status. These are,

baha	–	'area' : field, market place, etc.
ṭaḍa	–	'small area' : as is usually occupied by spit, wound, or primary vaccination mark, etc.
ḍika	–	'puddle' : cow-dung, excreta, etc.
ḍe :la	–	'cold' : earth, mud, etc.
topa	–	'cluster' : flower, fruit, crop, etc.
ṭopa	–	'drop' : water, blood, soup, etc.
ba :gi	–	'share, portion'
cawḍa	–	'portion'
po : bi	–	'cross-section'

e.g., ti :ni baha ti :qldu – 'three areas/mounds of rice'
ti :ni topa ṭa :ṭge – 'three bunches of mango'

ti:ni ḍika gobri – ‘three puddles of cow-dung’
ti:ni ṭopa amdu – ‘three drops of water’

(3) Classifiers of Quantity :

These classifiers are also neutral to the discrete/non-discrete opposition of the nouns and are organized under dimensions along which the objects are measured. The examples are given with the numeral -ond – ‘one’.

(i) depth :	capṭ	–	‘foot’
	bagḍ	–	‘ankle’
	qosg̣	–	‘thigh’
	kaṛm	–	‘waist’
	buki	–	‘chest’
	qasr	–	‘neck’
	toro	–	‘mouth’, etc.

e.g., capṭond amdu – ‘one foot deep water’
kaṛmond amdu – ‘one waist deep water’

(ii) length :	bilas	–	‘span’
	muḍr	–	‘length of the fore-arm from the elbow to the fist’
	mukt	–	‘cubit’, etc.

e.g., muktond suta – ‘one cubit long thread’

(iii) Volume :	muṭ	–	‘fist’
	pohl	–	‘as much as one hand will contain’
	pasi	–	‘as much as two hands put together will contain’, etc.

e.g., muṭond ti:qldu – ‘one fistful of rice’

This section also includes various standard containers and measures of volume.

kaṛs	–	‘pitcher’
gilas	–	‘glass’

balṭi	–	'bucket'
patli	–	'pot'
pa :ye	–	'a measure for grains', etc.

e.g., kaṛsond dudi – 'one pitcherful of milk'
pa :yond gohme – 'one measure of wheat'

(iv) weight :	se :r	–	'one seer'
	boj	–	'one headload', etc.

e.g., bojond kankdu – 'one headload of wood'

(v) girth :	muṭi	–	'circumference around which the index finger and the thumb can reach'

e.g., muṭyond sa :ge – 'one handful of greens'

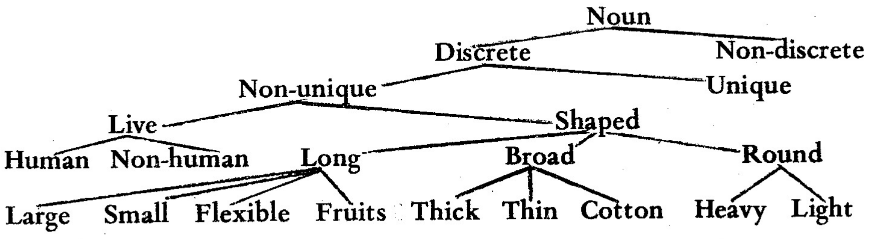
(vi) time :	din	–	'day'
	mehn	–	'month'
	bacri	–	'year', etc.

e.g., mehnond tolope – 'salary for one month'

(vii) groups of number :	ko :ṛi	–	'a score'
	ajar	–	'a thousand', etc.

e.g., ko :ṛyond ica – 'one score of shrimps'

After this somewhat detailed analysis of the numeral classifiers, we can now look for the semantic relationship among the terms within the total structure of the system. From a structural point of view, any further ordering of the state and quantity classifiers seem less promising, but the non-unique status classifiers can genuinely be called a micro-system with high degree of semantic structuring, i.e.,



The peculiarity of the Malto system is the lack of overt distinction between discreteness and non-discreteness of objects, and it has to be postulated on the basis of contrast and inclusion relationship, operating among lower level "taxa" (See, Bendix, 1966, p.5).

4.7.3. Development of Malto Classifier Systems :

For Malto, Emeneau assumes that, it "began borrowing numerals and classifiers from neighbouring Magadhan languages, and subsequently elaborated the system independently, chiefly on the basis of inherited material" (1956, p.649). It is of course doubtful what this "inherited material" is, but it is a necessary prerequisite for keeping the hypothesis from falling into disrepute. Malto, barring the unique classifiers, has a total number of eleven classifers of which only maq- and pa :n- may be said as truly indigenous. All other forms are generally borrowed from neighbouring languages like hundred of other forms. Furthermore, only three or four of these words, i.e., jen, goṭ, kanḍ and paṭa might be said to be true classifiers in the Magadhan languages. Others have no such function, and have general meanings like,

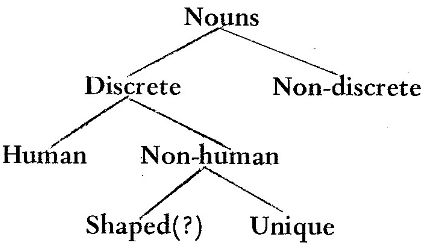
Malto		Oriya		
daṛa	:	dhaṛa	–	'bamboo pole'
		daḷɔ	–	'branch'
kaṭi	:	kaṭhi	–	'stick, twigs'
panda	:	phandɔ	–	'net-work of ropes, rope-trap'
paṛa	:	phɔḷɔ	–	'fruit'
		phɔṛa	–	'sliver'
paṭa	:	pɔṭa	–	'board'
pula	:	phulɔ	–	'flower'

Besides, what is more important to know if the Magadhan languages, considered a probable source for the classifiers in Malto, have anything in common with the latter. Regarding the function of the classifiers in Assamese, Goswami says that "the classifiers no longer classify the Assamese nominals into distinct classes ; nor is there any evidence that they ever did in earlier periods of the language. They, however, convey some sense and give some idea about the object of which they become an adjunct, whether it is male or female, respectful or general, big or small, round or flat or oblong, in bunches or otherwise etc." (1968, p.111). Giving a list of important classifiers in Assamese, he says that, "zan is used to signify person, male and respectable only ; zani disrespectful, is used for women and females of animals. zana and garaki are used to express respectful to both man and woman. to has three forms to, ta, ti. to is a very common classifier used after nominals and pronominals (not respectful for men). It may be called the definite article of Assamese like the English 'the' for men and things in general senses. ta is used in quantifier to signify men, animals, and things of round, or oblong or or any geometrical sizes. ti is the diminutive form.

pat and khan. These are used for things flat, wide, thin, long or short.
dal is usually used for things round, which may be long or oblong.
sota is used for thin and flat things, while khila is used for thin leaf – like things.
zopa is the classifier for trees or the like.
kosa, mutha and tār are used for things in bunches.

For things, non-discrete, a container or the like may be used as the classifier" (1968, pp.116–17).

No doubt, there are some comparable points between Assamese and Malto classifiers, but these are limited to individual classifiers rather than to systems as such. In case of Oriya, another language of the Magadhan group, the status classifiers are yet more loosely structured, i.e., (See, Mahapatra, 1973.).



The most characteristic feature of this system is the overt markedness of the fundamental distinction between discreteness and non-discreteness (+/- goṭa ~ ṭa) of objects. The dichotomy is true for Bengali (+/- ṭa), Assamese (+/- to) and perhaps for Burmese (+/- khù), in spite of the fact that the latter is genetically unrelated to the Magadhan languages. Although Burling's approach to this Burmese classifier – khù has not been one of exploring its possibilities in terms of total distribution, with or without "varying degrees of awkwardness", some of his findings are very encouraging (1965, p.248). Secondarily, the semantic domain 'discrete objects' is divided along some dimensions – the probable ones seems to be 'life' and 'shape'. In Oriya, the 'life' dimension is restricted to 'human' nouns and it is clearly marked. But, the dimension of 'shape' of which there is only a mere suggestion in the system is undeveloped and ambiguous.

Analysing the same phenomenon in some of the Amerindian languages, particularly Tarascan, Friedrich isolates the following dimensions (1970).

(i) a dimensionless set lacking both shape and mass,
(ii) a dimensional set of ma̍sses, classified by 'container' and of shapes saliently one – dimensional, two – dimensional and three – dimensional,
(iii) a speech – capable and approximately 'human' set.

Besides, Friedrich's interesting review of diverse languages of the world shows that similar processes for categorizing the nouns along certain semantic dimensions are so widespread that these can neither be restricted to any of group of genetically related languages nor to any one area of diffusion. There is also a distinct possibility for assuming certain probable universal concepts which are present in the semantic structure of all languages. While each culture has its own way of viewing reality, there are certain characteristics of the real world for which there is a high likelihood that every culture has linguistic means of expression (See, Mathiot, 1968, p.17).

Finally, the true significance of a numeral classifier lies not in its independent existence as an individual item, but rather in its occupying a particular categoric position within the totality of a classificatory scheme and this is where Malto classifiers differ most from its neighbouring languages. Therefore, linguistic borrowing, no matter how extensive, is too sterile a process to explain the development and diffusion of conceptual systems either within or across genetic boundaries.

CHAPTER 5

VERB

5.1. Verbs :

The Malto verb forms are built upon verb bases which function as the stem of a verb form. A verb stem is either marked or unmarked. An unmarked verb stem is structurally same as the verb base. A marked verb stem is verb base + stem formatives. A stem is listed as a verb stem if it regularly takes the elements proper to a verb, i.e., tense, aspect, mood or person.

Morphologically, verb bases are either simple, or complex or compound. A simple base consists of a verb root ;a complex base a root followed by the derivative suffix and a compound base more than one root.

5.2 Phonological Structure of Verb Base :

Verb bases in Malto do not end in a vowel.

The following is a list of different types of monosyllabic simple bases.

VC	–	us	–	'to dig'
		at	–	'to put on'
		ok	–	'to sit'
V: C	–	a :l	–	'to be clear'
		o :g	–	'to swim'
		e :g̣	–	'to become cool'
VCC	–	aws	–	'to jingle'
		awḍ	–	'to speak'
		elc	–	'to be afraid'

V: CC – a :wl – 'to yawn'
a :ṛy – 'to make room'
a :cr – 'to be watery'

VCCC – umbl – 'to urinate'
aṅg̣l – 'to open mouth'
oṛgr – 'to become blunt'

V: CCC – e :lg̣r – 'to be lost'

CVC – tuk – 'to push'
koh – 'to bite'
tar – 'to break'

CV: C – ko :r – 'to enter'
ci :c – 'to wipe'
na :l – 'to dance'

CVCC – mahy – 'to churn'
coḍg̣ – 'to crack finger'
kuṛg – 'to roll'

CV: CC – jo :ṛy – 'to join'
mu :ñj – 'to wipe face'
ce :nđ – 'to transport'

CVCCC – qag̣jr – 'to expectorate'
patg̣r – 'to hide'
meṅg̣j – 'to incubate'

CV: CCC – gi :nđy – 'to cut unevenly'
ma :nḍr – 'to apply something to body'
pa :lg̣r – 'to day-break'

CV: CCCC – le :mbg̣r – 'to crawl'

The last type of verb base is very rare and the last element -g̣r is apparently a formative suffix which cannot be segmented in this case as the corresponding simple root does not occur.

Disyllabic simple base – The disyllabic simple bases are far less common and many of the types have only one or two examples.

VCVC	aguṛ	'to turn over'
	eṛar	'to be saved'
V: CVC	a :rar	'to be blunt'
	e :war	'to be accustomed'
VCCVC	alsar	'to be irritated'
	atloṅ	'to catch in mid-air'
	alkut	'to tickle'
V: CCVC	a :kṛar	'to long-for'
	o : trey	'to peep'
VCCCVC	ung̣lar	'to feel nausea'
	osg̣tar	'to tickle'
CVCVC	sayey	'to be pleased'
	jiyar	'to come to life'
CV: CVC	pa :ṭey	'to empty a pot'
	ro :kar	'to be angry'
CVCCVC	gabṛar	'to be perturbed'
	suṛgey	'to whistle'
CV: CCVC	ka :lkas	'to covet'
	be :rney	'to work on daily wages'
CVCCCVC	podqlar	'to be soft'
	sambṛar	'to handle a situation'

Three syllabic simple bases –

VCVCVC	ujaṛey	'to destroy'
V: CVCVC	o :polar	'to float'
VCCVCVC	enḍaley	'to tease'
CVCVCVC	pudubar	'to be filled'
CV: CVCVC	sa :saray	'to be suitable'
CVCCVCVC	lenḍosar	'to be pliant'

Onomatopoeic bases – There are a few onomatopoeic roots which function as verb bases. These roots have characteristic syllabic structure, i.e., root + reduplication.

VCVCC	iṭiṭr	‘to laugh ill-humouredly’
CVCCVCC	juljulr	‘to flicker’
	mahmahr	‘to emit scent’
	bunbunr	‘to buzz’

As regards the syllabic structure, the verb bases show a large number of possibilities. However, the most favourite types of roots in Malto are monosyllables and the possible structures can be generalized under a simple canonical formula $C_{0-1}V/V:C_{1-3}$ (read V/V: as $\breve{\bar{V}}$). The third position of this structure showing C_{1-4} possibility is extremely rare. For the disyllabic roots, a similar canonical formula would be $C_{0-1}V/V:C_{0-2}VC$. The three syllabic simple bases are so few that a general rule would not be of much use.

5.3. Formation of Verb Bases :

It has been already noted that the verb bases fall into three types, i.e., simple, complex and compound. It should, however, be appreciated that it is not always easy to distinguish between a simple base and a complex base. This is due to the fact that a complex base which is structurally a simple base + derivative suffix, may not have a corresponding simple base. In fact, in all cases of complex base information such examples are met. In some cases, the list of these so-called complex bases is so long that, a morphological explanation is necessary. For example, the addition of the intransitive/reflexive morpheme -r to the simple base is a fairly productive process. Compare,

asg	‘to stick’	asgr	‘to cling’
awg	‘to apply heat’	awgr	‘to bask’
eẏ	‘to bind’	eẏr	‘to bind oneself’
ba :g	‘to scrape’	ba :gr	‘to scrape one’s own tongue’
e :g	‘to drop’	e :gr	‘to fall’, etc.

But, there are some 100 bases with the final -r which do not have corresponding simple bases.

tilr – 'to disperse as a crowd'
ṭugr – 'to look down'
teđr – 'to rustle as dry leaves'
mo :đr – 'to forget'
qandr – 'to sleep', etc.

It would be unusual not to treat these latter bases as complex bases on the analogy of the morphological process already isolated.

Similar is also the case of the formative -ar added to noun bases to form verbs. For example,

alwi – 'light', alwar – 'to dawn'
i :ksi – 'jealousy', i :kśar – 'to be jealous'
duke – 'misery', dukrar – 'to be miserable'
neḍwa – 'love', neḍwar – 'to be in love'
ba :đgi – 'side', ba :đgar – 'to move to a side', etc.

There are some 120 verb bases of comparable morphological structure, but they lack in corresponding underlying forms.

ra :gar – 'to be angry'
biṛmar – 'to be late'
pastar – 'to repent'
pagolar – 'to be mad'
uḍyar – 'to fly, etc.

In view of these facts, the division between simple and complex bases, in many cases are not very satisfactory.

(1) Simple Bases :

The simple bases fall into two major classes.

(a) -y ending roots. There are some 100 roots of this type, most of which are borrowed.

rahy	–	'to live'
bujy	–	'to understand'
pucy	–	'to enquire'
po :sy	–	'to make pet'
se :wy	–	'to serve', etc.

This class of roots has stem alternants with -ca/ce in the past tense. For example,

rahy	–	rahaca - tan	–	'I lived'
bujy	–	bujca - tan	–	'I understood'
se :wy	–	se :wca - tan	–	'I served', etc.

(b) The rest of the 400 bases fall into two major subclasses.

(i) The first sub-class of 140 bases takes stem formatives -a/-e in the past tense,

alq	–	alqa - tan	–	'I laughed'
cak	–	caka - tan	–	'I sharpened'
muṛg̣	–	muṛg̣a - tan	–	'I uprooted', etc.

(ii) The rest of the 260 bases do not take any stem formative in the past tense.

inq	–	inq - tan	–	'I coughed'
kud	–	kud - tan	–	'I worked'
cumq	–	cumq - tan	–	'I kissed'
kurk	–	kurk - tan	–	'I wrote', etc.

(2) Complex Bases :

(a) Formation of intransitive/reflexive base by the addition of /r o g̣r/ to the root.

Root				Derived Base		
caq	–	'to pierce'	–	caqr	–	'to pierce oneself'
toq	–	'to finish'	–	toqr	–	'to end'
no :ṛ	–	'to wash'	–	no : ḍr	–	'to wash oneself'

A large number of intransitive/reflexive bases occur with the same suffix without corresponding simple root.

ba :sr	'to cover oneself'
mo :dr	'to forget'
tinqr	'to moan'
qe :g̣r	'to feel giddy'
jag̣jag̣r	'to shine'

A morphologically conditioned variant -g̣r occurs with some other roots.

Root		Derived Base	
i :s	'to tear'	i :sg̣ar	'to tear' (intransitive)
nuḍ	'to hide'	nuḍg̣r	'to hide oneself'
qa :l	'to steal'	qa :lg̣r	'to be robbed'
puc	'to undress'	pucg̣r	'to undress oneself'

It is likely that a few roots occur with the same suffix, although corresponding simple roots are lacking.

calg̣r	'to crack'
murg̣r	'to lie face down'
bi :eg̣r	'to stretch limbs'
pa :lg̣r	'to dawn'
patg̣r	'to hide oneself', etc.

(b) Formation of intransitive/reflexive base by the addition of -ar to the noun root.

Root		Derived Base	
acli	'apron'	aclar	'to take into the apron'
a :sra	'support'	a :srar	'to depend'
alwi	'light'	alwar	'to dawn'
i :ksi	'jealousy'	i :ksar	'to be jealous'
ko :me	'less'	ko :mar	'to become less'

Root		Derived Base	
jagṛa	'quarrel'	jagṛar	'to quarrel'
jo :ṛa	'couple'	jo :ṛar	'to be copulated'
juḍa	'shade'	juḍar	'to be shaded'
ṭola	'bubble'	ṭolar	'to swell'
dalya	'thick'	dalyar	'to become thick'
duṛi	'dust'	duṛyar	'to be dusty'
na :pra	'illness'	na :prar	'to be ill'
neḍwa	'love'	neḍwar	'to love'
popṛa	'hollow'	popṛar	'to be hollow'
ba :lke	'turmeric'	ba :lkar	'to be tinged'
bawna	'thought'	bawnar	'to worry'
ba :đgi	'side'	ba :đgar	'to move to a side'
ka :kli	'misery'	ka :klar	'to be miserable'
sakṛi	'polluted food'	sakṛar	'to be polluted'
karce	'expenditure'	karčar	'to be spent'
sukṭi	'dried'	sukṭar	'to dry'
kosṭe	'trouble'	kosṭar	'to be in trouble'

There is a variant -rar which occurs with the following forms.

sida	'straight'	sidrar	'to be straightened'
duke	'misery'	dukrar	'to be miserable'

There are three roots which occur with the variant -lar.

gunḍe	'powder'	gunḍlar	'to be powdered'
ḍika	'lump'	ḍiklar	'to form lump'
qe :so	'red'	qe :solar	'to be red'

There are a large number of verbs of identical structure which do not have corresponsing noun bases,

bikar	'to sell' (intr.)
mehar	'to be damp'
pular	'to swell'
patlar	'to be thin'
ulgar	'to relapse', etc.

(c) Verb bases taking the transitive -ey in contra-distinction to the intransitive/reflexive -ar.

Intrans./Reflexive		Transitive	
o :colar	‘to tumble’	o :coley	‘to sift in a winnowing basket’
badlar	‘to change’	badley	‘to change’
palṭar	‘to change dress’	palṭey	‘to change dress’
bo : krar	‘to shout’	bo :krey	‘to belch’
sumbaṛar	‘to pray’	sumbaṛey	‘to offer sacrifices’
sibṛar	‘to be smeared’	sibṛey	‘to smear’

There are a few -ey bases which are derived from noun bases,

sadre	‘public’	sadrey	‘to make public’
ugli	‘mind’	ugley	‘to take pity’
ṭukṛa	‘piece’	ṭukṛey	‘to piece’
suṛga	‘whistle’	suṛgey	‘to whistle’

There are a few structurally similar verb bases which do not have corresponding underlying bases.

o :trey	‘to peep’
enḍaley	‘to tease’
goharey	‘to summon’
cu :grey	‘to point at’
pa :ṭey	‘to empty a pot’
paṛcey	‘to receive’
ba :ṛṅey	‘to embrace’
be :rney	‘to work on daily wages’
ujaṛey	‘to squander’
samtey	‘to arrange’
sayey	‘to please’

(d) Verb bases taking transitive -es in contradistinction to the intrans./reflexive -ar.

Intrans./Reflexive		Transitive	
aṭkar	‘to stop’	aṭkes	‘to stop’

Intrans./Reflexive		Transitive	
apasar	'to be surprised'	apases	'to surprise'
kuṛnar	'to become hot'	kuṛnes	'to heat'
ciṛyar	'to be scattered'	ciṛyes	'to scatter'
ḍagrar	'to go wrong'	ḍagres	'to put out of order'
mackar	'to be dislocated'	mackes	'to dislocate'
kosṭar	'to be in trouble'	kosṭes	'to give trouble'
ulṭar	'to turn back'	ulṭes	'to turn over'

There are a few bases of identical structure without corresponding intrans./reflexive base.

ebṛes	'to bother'
inqres	'to cough meaningfully'
kacles	'to nag'
karapes	'to spoil'
dobṛes	'to fold'
pasyes	'to cheat'
kobjes	'to control'

(e) The most productive type of forming a causative/transitive base is by the addition of the causative morpheme /-tar ∞ -d ∞ -t/ to the root. If the root is -r ending, the -r is dropped before the causative morpheme unless it is a part of the root.

(i) -t occurs only after the root amy – 'to take bath'.

amy – 'to take bath' – amt – 'to give bath'

(ii) -d occurs after the following roots.

o:n	'to drink'	ond	'to make to drink'
i:l	'to stand'	ild	'to erect'
na:l	'to dance'	nald	'to make to dance'
pu:n	'to wear necklace'	pu:nd	'to make to wear necklace'

ti : n	–	'to eat'	–	tind	–	'to feed' (See, foot-note 1)

(iii) -tar occurs elsewhere.

ok	–	'to sit'	–	oktar	–	'to make to sit'
kud	–	'to work'	–	kudtar	–	'to make to work'
paṛy	–	'to study'	–	paṛytar	–	'to teach'
qandr	–	'to sleep'	–	qandrtar	–	'to put to sleep' etc.

There are a few verb bases of identical structure, without corresponding simple bases.

a :rtar	–	'to spread'
o :rtar	–	'to make red-hot'
konatar	–	'to bother with questions'
calatar	–	'to move'
cartar	–	'to separate by winnowing'
ṭeṭtar	–	'to irritate'
ṭa : star	–	'to knock'
ṭeptar	–	'to direct'
durstar	–	'to bang'
banatar	–	'to make'
paṭatar	–	'to irrigate'
kaṭtar	–	'to talk nonsense'
sasatar	–	'to arrange'
bo : rtar	–	'to console'
pulpultar	–	'to get gurgling noise in the stomach'
aṛsuṛtar	–	'to make breaking noise with the teeth'

(f) A second causative is formed by adding the morpheme -tita to the causative case. It has an allomorph -tite which occurs only before person markers ending in a front vowel or y.

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1 The root ti : n - does not occur as a verb base. In one form, the occurrence of the non-causative root is noted, ti : na ṭeṭu - 'eating hand', i.e., 'right hand'.

baj – ‘to beat’ – bajtartita – ‘to cause to beat by some one’
caq – ‘to pierce’ – caqtartita – ‘to cause to pierce by some one’
ey – ‘to bind’ – eytartita – ‘to cause to bind by some one’
qandr – ‘to sleep’ – qandrtartita – ‘to put to sleep by some one’
banatar – ‘to make’ – banatartita – ‘to cause to make’, etc.

(g) The reciprocative is formed by adding the morpheme -naq to the root.

qen – ‘to cohabit’ – qennaq – ‘to be mutually involved in sexual act’
jej – ‘to butt head’ – jejnaq – ‘to be mutually involved in butting heads’
cicr – ‘to pass news’ – cicrnaq – ‘to exchange news’
teṅg̣ – ‘to speak’ – teṅg̣rnaq – ‘to converse’, etc.

(h) The passive base is formed by adding the morpheme -wur to the root.

a :g̣ – ‘to know’ – a :g̣wur – ‘to be known’
car – ‘to cut’ – carwur – ‘to be cut’
tak – ‘to hurt’ – takwur – ‘to be hurt’
nuñj – ‘to pain’ – nuñjwur – ‘to be in pain’
mand – ‘to bury’ – mandwur – ‘to be buried’
dary – ‘to catch’ – darwur – ‘to be caught’
paly – ‘to split’ – palwur – ‘to be split’, etc.

5.4. Classification of Verb Bases :

Syntactically, Malto verb bases can be broadly divided into two classes as transitive and intransitive depending upon whether they occur in +object or –object sentences respectively. There are a few examples to show that, morphologically the verb bases are neutral to this dichotomy, i.e., the roots are not inherently transitive or intransitive, but they may function as any one of the two depending upon the formatives they take. In the past tense, if a base does not take any formative it functions as an intransitive, but if it takes -a/-e formatives, it functions as a transitive. For example,

nind	– 'to fill'	:	nind - yađ	– 'it got filled' (intr.)
			ninda - đ	– 'she filled' (tr.)
pu :g̣	– 'to swell'	:	pʉ :g̣ - yađ	– 'it swelled' (intr.)
			pu :g̣a - đ	– 'she made it swell (as by steaming paddy) (tr.)
bat	– 'to dry'	:	bat - yađ	– 'it dried' (intr.)
			bata - đ	– 'she dried' (something) (tr.)

These three roots, however, are clearly exceptional, for not only do these roots form both kinds of past stems they are also contrasted. In all other cases, the roots have only any one kind of past stem. Furthermore, these two types of stems do not correspond to the transitive and intransitive verbs established by their syntactic function. For example, many transitive verbs do not form past stems with -a/-e formatives, while many intransitives do.

baj	– 'to beat'	–	baj - tan	– 'I bet'
bi :s	– 'to sell'	–	bi :s - tan	– 'I sold'
bed	– 'to search'	–	bed - tan	– 'I searched', etc.

Similarly,

alq	– 'to laugh'	–	alqa - tan	– 'I laughed'
it	– 'to sprout'	–	ita - đ	– 'it sprouted'
akl	– 'to tip-toe'	–	akla - tan	– 'I tip-toed', etc.

Therefore, it may be said that morphologically, the verb bases fall into three arbitrary classes with reference to the past stem formation,

Class 1 – stems with no formative.

Class 2 — stems with -ca/-ce formatives.
Class 3 — stems with -a/-e formatives.

5.5. Morphophonemic Classes of Bases :

The formation of past tense in Malto provides a basis for a morphophonemic classification of all verb bases into three major classes.

Class 1 : All bases which do not have past stem alternant.

piṭ	–	'to kill'	–	piṭ - tan	– 'I killed'
				piṭ - te	– 'you killed'
				piṭ - tam	– 'we (excl.) killed'
				piṭ - yah	– 'he killed', etc.

In the following cases, where the root vowel is long, it alternates with the corresponding short vowel in the past tense.

o :g	→	og	–	og - yah	–	'he swam'
e :k	→	ek	–	ek - yah	–	'he went'
ca :d	→	cad	–	cad - yah	–	'he selected'
ṭa :ṭ	→	ṭaṭ	–	ṭaṭ - yah	–	'he licked'
mi:ñj	→	miñj	–	miñj - yah	–	'he became familiar'
ma :nḍ	→	manḍ	–	manḍ - yah	–	'he roasted'
pi :t	→	pit	–	pit - yah	–	'he broke wind'
pa :k	→	pak	–	pak - yah	–	'he took in the lap'
u :d	→	ud	–	ud - yah	–	'he gave a prop'

Of the complex bases, all -es and -naq ending bases fall into this class.

mackes	–	mackes - yah	–	'he dislocated'
kobjes	–	kobjes - yah	–	'he controlled', etc.

Also,

qen	–	qennaq - yar	–	'they are involved in sexual act'
baj	–	bajnaq - yar	–	'they are engaged in fighting', etc.

Class 2 : All bases ending in -y have past stem alternants with /-ca∼-ce/

The -ce stem occurs only when followed by person markers with front vowels, and y.

bujy	bujce	bujce - te	'you (sg.m.) understood'
		bujce - ti	'you (sg.f.) understood'
		bujce - tey	'we (incl.) understood'

Elsewhere,

bujy	bujca	bujca - tan	'I understood'
kuny	kunca	kunca - tan	'I threaded'
paṛy	paṛca	paṛca - tan	'I studied'

There are a few exceptions to this rule. The following list of y ending bases does not alternate with -ca/ce and falls into class 3 type, i.e., takes -a/-e stem formatives.

eṛy	eṛya - tan	'I parched'
qaṛy	qaṛya - tan	'I worshipped'
qa:y	qa:ya - d	'it dried'
pudy	pudya - tan	'I poured'

It should also be noted that (C)Vy- bases like ey-, key- etc. are treated under class 3, as these roots are subject to different morphophonemic alternation rules.

Of the complex bases, all -ey ending bases fall into this class. These have past stem alternants ending in /-eca ∼-ece/. The latter stem occurs only when followed by person markers with front vowels, and y ; -eca stems occurs elsewhere.

badley	badlece - te	'you (sg.m.) changed'
	badlece - tey	'we (incl.) changed'

and

sumbaṛey	——	sumbaṛeca - tan	–	'I offered sacrifices'
suṛgey	——	suṛgeca - tan	–	'I whistled', etc.

Class 3 : All stems which have past stem alternants with /-a ~ -e/ fall into this class. The -e stem occurs only when followed by person markers with front vowels, and y and the -a stem occurs elsewhere. For example,

alq	——	alqe - te	–	'you (sg.m.) laughed'
		alqe - ti	–	'you (sg.f.) laughed'
		alqe - tey	–	'we (incl.) laughed'

and

alqa - tan	–	'I laughed'
alqa - h	–	'he laughed'
alqa - ḍ	–	'she laughed'
alqa - tam	–	'we (excl.) laughed'
alqa - tar	–	'you (pl.) laughed'
alqa - r	–	'they laughed'

There are several groups of roots belonging to this class which are governed by specific morphophonemic alternation rules, when forming past stems.

(i) Two roots ending in -g̣ alternate with -q.

a :g̣	—›	aqa	–	'to know'
cog̣	—›	coqa	–	'to pluck'

(ii) Three roots ending in -l alternate with -ḍ.

na :l	—›	naḍa	–	'to dance'
qa :l	—›	qaḍa	–	'to steal'
adqol	—›	adqoḍa	–	'to take a vow'

(iii) One root ending in -l alternates with -j

i :l	—›	ija	–	'to stand'

(iv) Two roots ending in -l alternate with -lc.

ta:l → talca —— 'to sever'
da:l → dalca —— 'to grind'

(v) Three roots ending in -n alternate with -nḍ.

a:n → anḍa —— 'to get'
o:n → onḍa —— 'to drink'
pu:n → punḍa —— 'to wear necklace'

(vi) Five roots ending in -h alternate with -t.

koh → kota —— 'to bite'
teh → teta – 'to knit'
qoh → qota – 'to hack'
peh → peta – 'to raise'
nah → nata – 'to beat drum'

(vii) One root ending in -h alternates with -ñj.

nih → niñj – 'to shoot'

(viii) One root ending in -ṛ alternates with ṭ.

kuṛ → kuṭa – 'to roast'

(ix) Two roots ending in -ṛ alternate with -ṛc.

lo:ṛ → loṛca – 'to be able'
u:ṛ → u:ṛca – 'to fill the stomach'

(x) Two roots ending in -r alternate with -rc.

ko:r → korca – 'to enter'
bar → barca – 'to come'

(xi) Four roots ending in -n alternate with -ñj.

me:n → meñja – 'to hear'
me:n → meñja – 'to ask'
man → mañja – 'to be'
pa:n → pañja – 'to ripe'

(xii) One root ending in -ñ alternates with -ñc.

ceñ → ceñca – 'to smell'

(xiii) One root ending in -ñ alternates with -ñj.

kuñ → kuñja – 'to throw'

(xiv) Five roots ending in -y alternate with -c.

ciy → cica – 'to give'
cuy → cuca – 'to put on'
co :y → co :ca – 'to rise'
key → keca – 'to die'
le :y → le :ca – 'to mimic'

One exception to this list is the root bey- 'to be', which alternates with bec-, but it falls into the class 1, as the forms are not

*becatan but, bectan – 'I was'
*becah but, becyah – 'he was', etc.

(xv) Two roots ending in -y alternate with -s.

poy → posa – 'to rain'
qoy → qosa – 'to reap'

(xvi) One root ending in -y alternates with -j.

qoy → qoja – 'to measure'

(xvii) Two roots ending in -y alternate with -yc.

ba :y → ba :yca – 'to pay respect'
sa :y → sa :yca – 'to forget'

The above alternant groups can be brought under five main types.

(a)

g̣ → q (Group – i)
l → ḍ (Group – ii)
h → t (Group – vi)
ṛ → ṭ (Group – viii)
y → c (Group – xiv)
y → s (Group -xv)

(b) Final consonant –– j

l → j (Group – iii)
y → j (Group – xvi)

(c) Final consonant → ñj

h → ñj (Group – vii)
n → ñj (Group – xi)
ñ → ñj (Group – xiii)

(d) Final consonant → nd

n → nḍ (Group – v)

(e) Final consonant → Cc

l → lc (Group – iv)
r → rc (Group – x)
r → rc (Group – ix)
ñ → ñc (Group – xii)
y → yc (Group – xvii)

Of the complex bases, all bases ending in -r fall into this class.

putr – putra - h – 'he vomited'
pucg̣r – pucg̣ra - h – 'he became naked'
ra : gar – ra : gara - h – 'he became angry'

All bases ending in -tar and its variants fall into this class.

bi:ktar – bi:ktara - h – 'he had (him) summoned'
banatar – banatara - h – 'he made'

All bases ending in -tita fall into this class.

bajtartita – bajtartita - h – 'he got him bitten by someone'
eytartita – eytartita - h – 'he got it bound by someone'

All bases ending in -wur fall into this class.

bandwur – bandwura - h – 'he was pulled'
darwur – darwura - h – 'he was caught'

5.5.1. Other Base Alternants :

The following bases when occur before intransitive/reflexive -r show alternant forms. These are,

qe:n → qendr – 'to shake'
me:n → mendr – 'to listen'
ceñ → ceñjr – 'to smell'
no:ṛ → no:ḍr – 'to wash'

5.6. Structure of Finite Verbs :

The verbs fall into two categories, finite and non-finite. Structurally, the finite verbs fall into four major structural types with reference to the category 'mood'. These are ,

Indicative – Unmarked mood
Subjunctive – Marked mood
Imperative – Non-segmentable mood
Optative – Marked mood

All the four types have negative counterparts.

The Indicative forms show a three term tense distinction, present, past and future; two term aspect – tense distinction, past perfect and non-past perfect; and nine term person – number distinction, 1st singular, 2nd singular masculine, 2nd singular feminine, 3rd singular masculine, 3rd singular feminine, 1st plural inclusive, 1st plural exclusive, 2nd plural and 3rd plural.

The subjunctives show nine term person – number distinction, which is same as the Indicative.

The Imperatives show two term tense distinction, future and non-future, and inherent 2nd person reference.

The Optatives show three term person – number distinction, 3rd masculine singular, 3rd feminine singular and 3rd plural.

Indicative :

(i) Stem + Tense + Person-number
Stem + Negative + Tense + Person-number

(ii) Stem + Aspect + Tense + Person-number
Stem + Negative + Aspect + Tense + Person-number

Subjunctive :

(iii) Stem + Mood + Person-number
Stem + Mood + Negative + Person-number

Imperative :

(iv) Stem + Mood-tense + Person-number
Stem + Negative + Mood-tense+ Person-number

Optative :

(v) Stem + Mood + Person-number
Stem + Negative + Mood + Person-number

It should be noted that the above structures are systematized in order to bring out the general structural peculiarities of the verb forms and do not necessarily represent the details of all internal valences.

5.7. Indicative Stem Formation :

Before the different non-nucleus morpheme classes are considered, the stem formatives for the verb nucleus are given for each tense and the corresponding negatives.

Class 1 : amb- – 'to leave'

		Affirmative	Negative
Present	–	amb	ambo
Past	–	amb	amb
Future	–	amba/ambe	amb

Class 2 : bujy- – 'to understand'

Present	–	bujy	bujyo
Past	–	bujca/bujce	bujy
Future	–	bujya/bujye	bujy

Class 3 : (a) awḍ- – 'to speak'

Present	–	awḍ	awḍo
Past	–	awḍa/awḍe	awḍ
Future	–	awḍa/awḍe	awḍ

(b) bar- – 'to come'

Present	–	bar	baro
Past	–	barca/barce	bar
Future	–	bara/bare	bar

Distribution of Stem Alternants :

Class 1 :

Future – -e stems (ambe) occur only before person markers with front vowels, and y.

-a stems (amba) occur elsewhere.

Class 2 :

Past	—	-ce stems (bujce) occur only before person markers with front vowels, and y.
		-ca stems (bujca) occur elsewhere.
Future	—	-e stems (bujye) occur only before person markers with front vowels, and y.
		-a stems (bujya) occur elsewhere.

Class 3 :

Past/Future	—	-e stems (awḍe, barce/bare) occur only before person markers with front vowels, and y.
		-a stems (awḍa, barca/bara) occur elsewhere.

5.7.1. Tense :

This class consists of three members, present, past and future.

The present is realized as / -d- ∞ -n- ∞ -ø- /

-n- occurs before 3rd plural.

-ø- occurs before 1st singular and 3rd singular feminine, and negative.

-d- occurs elsewhere.

The past is realized as / -t- ∞ -y- ∞ -ø- /

-y- occurs before 3rd person markers.

-ø- occurs before 3rd person markers in the negative forms only.

-t- occurs elsewhere.

The future is realized as / -n- ∞ -ø- /

-ø- occurs before 1st singular and 1st plural inclusive.

-n- occurs elsewhere.

In the negative paradigms the distribution of the present tense markers poses special problems. As there is a marked negative stem for the present tense forms, the occurrence of a tense morpheme is redundant. According to the present treatment, the present tense in the negative is realized as ø. The distribution of other two tense morpheme is the same as in the affirmative forms.

5.7.2. Person-number Markers :

This class consists of nine members,

1st singular
2nd masculine singular
2nd feminine singular
3rd masculine singular
3rd feminine singular
1st exclusive plural
1st inclusive plural
2nd plural
3rd plural

1st singular is realized as / -in ∞ -an ∞ -n ∞ -tan/

-in occurs in the present.
-tan occurs in the present negative.
-an occurs in the past and past negative.
-n occurs in the future and future negative.

2nd masculine singular is realized as / -e ∞ -te /

-te occurs only in the present negative.
-e occurs elsewhere.

2nd femine singular is realized as / -i ∞ -ti /

-ti occurs only in the present negative.
-i occurs elsewhere.

3rd masculine singular is realized as / -ah ∞ -h /

-h occurs only in the past negative.
-ah occurs elsewhere.

3rd feminine singular is realized as / -iđ ∞ -ađ ∞ -đ /

-đ occurs only in the past negative.
-ađ occurs only in the present negative, and past.
-iđ occurs elsewhere.

1st plural exclusive is realized as / -am ∞ -tam /

-tam occurs only in the present negative.
-am occurs elsewhere.

1st plural inclusive is realized as / -ey ∞ -y ∞ -tey /

-tey occurs only in the present negative.
-y occurs only in the future and the future negative.
-ey occurs elsewhere.

2nd plural is realized as / -ar ∞ -tar /

-tar occurs only in the present negative.
-ar occurs elsewhere.

3rd plural is realized as / -ar ∞ -r /

-r occurs only in the past negative.
-ar occurs elsewhere.

5.7.3. Negative :

The negative is realized as / -la- ∼-le- ∞ -mal- /

-mal- occurs only in the present tense.
-le- occurs only before the person markers with front vowels and y.
-la- occurs elsewhere.

5.7.4. Paradigms :

The paradigms for indicative affirmative and negative forms are elicited with a class 1 stem, amb- 'to leave' (for other classes of stems, see the section on Indicative Stem Formation).

(i) Stem + Tense + Person-number (mood - unmarked)

Stem + Present + Person-number

amb + ∅ +	in,	ambin	1 sg.
	iđ	ambiđ	3 sg.f.
amb + d +	e,	ambde	2 sg.m.
	i,	ambdi	2 sg.f.
	ah,	ambdah	3 sg.m.
	am,	ambdam	1 pl. ex.
	ey,	ambdey	1 pl. in.
	ar	ambdar	2 pl.
amb + n + ar		ambnar	3 pl.

Stem + Past + Person-number

amb + t +	an,	ambtan	1 sg.
	e,	ambte	2 sg.m.
	i,	ambti	2 sg.f.
	am,	ambtam	1 pl. ex.
	ey,	ambtey	1 pl. in.
	ar	ambtar	2 pl.
amb + y +	ah	ambyah	3 sg.M.
	ađ	ambyađ	3 sg.f.
	ar	ambyar	3 pl.

Stem + Future + Person-number

amba + ∅ + n		amban	1 sg.
ambe + ∅ + y		ambey	1 pl. in.
ambe + n +	e,	ambene	2 sg.m.
	i,	ambeni	2 sg.f.
	iđ	ambeniđ	3 sg.f.

amba + n + ah – ambanah – 3 sg.m.
am – ambanam – 1 pl. ex.
ar – ambanar – 2 pl.
ar – ambanar – 3 pl.

Stem + Negative + Present + Person-number

ambo + mal + ∅ + tan – ambomaltan – 1 sg.
te, – ambomalte – 2 sg.m.
ti, – ambomalti – 2 sg.f.
ah, – ambomalah – 3 sg.m.
ađ, – ambomalađ – 3 sg.f.
tam, – ambomaltam – 1 pl. ex.
tey, – ambomaltey – 1 pl. in.
tar, – ambomaltar – 2 pl.
ar – ambomalar – 3 pl.

Stem + Negative + Past + Person-number

amb + la + t + an, – amblatan – 1 sg.
am, – amblatam – 1 pl. ex.
ar – amblatar – 2 pl.

amb + la + ∅ + h, – amblah – 3 sg.m.
đ, – amblađ – 3 sg.f.
r – amblar – 3 pl.

amb + le + t + e, – amblete – 2 sg.m.
i, – ambleti – 2 sg.f.
ey – ambletey – 1 pl. in.

Stem + Negative + Future + Person-number

amb + la + n + ah, – amblanah – 3 sg.m.
am, – amblanam – 1 pl. ex.
ar, – amblanar – 2 pl.
ar – amblanar – 3 pl.

amb + la + ∅ + n – amblan – 1 sg.

amb + le + n +	e,	–	amblene	–	2 sg.m.
	i,	–	ambleni	–	2 sg.f.
	id	–	amblenid	–	3 sg.f.
amb + le + ∅ + y		–	ambley	–	1 pl. in.

5.8. Aspect Stem Formation :

The following is a list of stems for the aspectual forms and the corresponding negatives.

Class 1 : amb – 'to leave'

		Affirmative	Negative
Past	–	ambi	amb
Non-past	–	ambi	amb

Class 2 : bujy – 'to understand'

Past	–	bujca	bujy
Non-past	–	bujca	bujy

Class 3 : (a) awḍ – 'to speak'

Past	–	awḍa	awḍ
Non-past	–	awḍa	awḍ

(b) bar – 'to come'

Past	–	barca	bar
Non-past	–	barca	bar

5.8.1. Aspect :

The aspect marker is realized as -y-. It refers to the completion of an action in the past or non-past time.

5.8.2. Tense :

In this structure, the tense is a two term system, past and non-past.

The past tense is realized as / -t- ∞ -c- /

-c- occurs only before the 3rd person markers.
-t- occurs elsewhere.

The non-past is realized as / -d- ∞ -n- ∞ -∅- /

-∅- occurs only before 1st singular and 3rd singular feminine markers.
-n- occurs only before 3rd plural marker.
-d- occurs elsewhere.

5.8.3. Person Markers :

This is a nine member class. These are realized as, 1st singular – / -in ∞ -an /. The former variant occurs after the non-past and the latter after the past.
2nd singular masculine – /-e/
2nd singular feminine – /-i/
3rd singular masculine – /-ah/

3rd singular feminine – / -iđ ∞ -ađ /. The former occurs after the non-past and the latter after the past.
1st plural exclusive – /-am/
1st plural inclusive – /ey/
2nd plural – /-ar/
3rd plural – /-ar/

5.8.4. Negative :

The negative marker is realized as / -la- /.

5.8.5. Paradigms :

(ii) Stem + Aspect + Tense + Person-number (mood unmarked).

Stem + Aspect + Non-past + Person number

ambi + y + ∅ + in, – ambiyin – 1 sg.
iđ – ambiyiđ – 3 sg.f.

ambi + y + d +	e,	–	ambiyin	–	2 sg.m.
	i,	–	ambiydi	–	2 sg.f.
	ah,	–	ambiydah	–	3 sg.m.
	am,	–	ambiydam	–	1 pl. ex.
	ey,	–	ambiydey	–	1 pl. in.
	ar,	–	ambiydar	–	2 pl.
ambi + y + n + ar		–	ambiynar	–	3 pl.

Stem + Aspect + Past + Person-number

ambi + y + t +	an,	–	ambiytan	–	1 sg.
	e,	–	ambiyte	–	2 sg.m.
	i,	–	ambiyti	–	2 sg.f.
	am,	–	ambiytam	–	1 pl. ex.
	ey,	–	ambiytey	–	1 pl. in.
	ar	–	ambiytar	–	2 pl.
ambi + y + c +	ah	–	ambiycah	–	3 sg.m.
	ad	–	ambiycad	–	3 sg.f.
	ar	–	ambiycar	–	3 pl.

Stem + Negative + Aspect + Non-Past + Person-number

amb + la + y + 0 +	in,	–	amblayin	–	1 sg.
	id	–	amblayid	–	3 sg.f.
amb + la + y + d +	e,	–	amblayde	–	2 sg.m.
	i,	–	amblaydi	–	2 sg.f.
	ah,	–	amblaydah	–	3 sg.m.
	am,	–	amblaydam	–	1 pl. ex.
	ey,	–	amblaydey	–	1 pl. in.
	ar	–	amblaydar	–	2 pl.
amb + la + y + n + ar		–	amblaynar	–	3 pl.

Stem + Negative + Aspect + Past + Person-number

amb + la + y + c +	ah,	–	amblaycah	–	3 sg.m.
	ad,	–	amblaycad	–	3 sg.f.
	ar	–	amblaycar	–	3 pl.

amb + la + y + t +	an,	–	amblaytan	–	1 sg.
	e,	–	amblayte	–	2 sg.m.
	i,	–	amblayti	–	2 sg.f.
	am,	–	amblaytam	–	1 pl. ex.
	ey,	–	amblaytey	–	1 pl. in.
	ar	–	amblaytar	–	2 pl.

5.9. Subjunctive :

The subjunctive forms, particularly the affirmative forms are somewhat difficult to analyse in spite of the fact there is a recurring element -l- which can be identified as the mood marker. But a rigorous analysis of the data yields a number of allomorphs both in the case of the mood marker and the person markers.

The stem for both affirmative and negative subjunctive forms is the base itself without any modification.

5.9.1. Mood :

It is realized as / -l- ∞ -le- ∞ -el ∞ -al /

-l- occurs before the 2nd masculine singular and feminine singular in the affirmative and before the negative marker in the negative forms.

-le- occurs before 3rd masculine singular, 1st plural inclusive and exclusive, and 2nd and 3rd plural in the affirmative forms.

-el occurs before the 1st singular in the affirmative.

-al occurs before the 3rd feminine singular in the affirmative.

5.9.2. Person Markers :

1st singular – / -n ∞ -∅ /

-∅ occurs in the affirmative forms.

-n occurs in the negative forms.

2nd singular masculine – / -e ∞ -y /

-e occurs in the affirmative.
-y occurs in the negative.

2nd singular feminine – / -i ∞ -yi /

-i occurs in the affirmative.
-yi occurs in the negative.

3rd singular masculine – / -h /

3rd singular feminine – / -d ∞ -Ø /

-Ø occurs in the affirmative.
-d occurs in the negative.

1st plural exclusive – / -m /

1st plural inclusive – / -h ∞ -Ø /

-Ø occurs in the negative.
-h occurs in the affirmative.

2nd plural – / -r /

3rd plural – / -r /

5.9.3. Negative :

The negative which occurs immediately after the mood marker is realized as -o-.

5.9.4. Paradigms :

(iii) Stem + Mood + Person-number

amb + l +	e,	–	amble	–	2 sg.m.
	i	–	ambli	–	2 sg.f.

amb + el + 0 — ambel — 1 sg.

amb + al + 0 — ambal — 3 sg.f.

amb + le + h, — ambleh — 3 sg.m.
m, — amblem — 1 pl. ex.
h, — ambleh — 1 pl. in.
r, — ambler — 2 pl.
r — ambler — 3 pl.

Stem + Mood + Negative + Person-number

amb + l + o + n, — amblon — 1 sg.
y, — ambloy — 2 sg.m.
yi, — ambloyi — 2 sg.f.
h, — ambloh — 3 sg.m.
d, — amblod — 3 sg.f.
m, — amblom — 1 pl. ex.
0, — amblo — 1 pl. in.
r, — amblo — 2 pl.
r, — amblor — 3 pl.

It should be noted that a particle -gan commonly occurs after the subjunctive forms. For example,

e :n awḍel tan ni :n qaṭle gan

Had I said you would have given.

e :n awḍel tan a :du qaṭal gan

Had I said she would have given.

e :m awḍlem tan a :hu qaṭloh gan

Had we said he would not have given.

a :r awḍler tan ni :m qaṭlor gan

Had they said you (pl.) would not have given, etc.

5.10. Imperative :

The imperative verbs are formed on two sets of stems. The affirmative stem for all classes of verbs is the base itself and the negative stem is base + o.

Affirmative	Nagative
amb	ambo
bujy	bujyo
bar	baro

The tense in the imperative is two term, future and non-future. The future is realized as -ke and the non-future is -a. The -a is frequently dropped after the negative. The person reference is, by definition, to the 2nd person only and it is not distinguished for gender or number. The negative is realized as / -m ∞ -ma /. The former variant occurs before the non-future tense and the latter before the future tense.

5.10.1. Paradigms :

(iv) Stem + Tense (Person inherent) (Mood non-segmentable)

amb + a, — amba — non-future
ke — ambke — future.

Stem + Negative + Tense

ambo + m + a — amboma/ambom — non-future
ambo + ma + ke — ambomake — future

There are also some particles oṛe, ok, owa, which have the force of imperative. For example,

amb + oṛe — 'leave it!'
bar + oṛe — 'come on!'
ok + oṛe — 'sit down!'
bis + ok — 'sell it!'
kuñ + ok — 'throw it!'
oy + owa — 'take it!', etc.

5.11. Optative :

The optative verbs are formed on two sets of stems. The affirmative stem for all classes of verbs is the base itself and the negative stem is base + o.

The mood morpheme is realized as -ande-.

The person reference is limited to the 3rd person only, i.e., 3rd singular masculine, 3rd singular feminine and 3rd plural.

The negative is realized as -m-.

5.11.1. Paradigms :

(v) Stem + Mood + Person

amb + ande + h, — ambandeh — 3 sg.m.
đ, — ambandeđ — 3 sg.f.
r — ambander — 3 pl.

ambo + m + ande + h, — ambomandeh — 3 sg.m.
đ, — ambomandeđ — 3 sg.f.
r — ambomander — 3 pl.

5.12. Morpheme Classes :

It has been already mentioned that various morpheme classes like, tense, aspect, person, etc., are realized differently in different verb structures. Thus, these categories should be understood with reference to particular verb structures. For example, aspectual tenses have different systemic values from modal tenses. Therefore, no attempt is made to equate them. The following is a structural description of the morpheme classes.

Indicative :

a) Non-aspectual — Stem + Tense + Person.

For Class 1 Verbs :

Stem — (i) Unmarked (non-future).
(ii) Marked — base + a/e (future).

For Class 2 and 3 Verbs :

Stem – (i) Unmarked (present).
(ii) Marked – base + a/e (non-present).

Stem + Negative + Tense + Person

Stem – (i) Unmarked (non-present).
(ii) Marked – base + o (present).

Negative – Marked

Mood – Unmarked

Tense – Present,
Past,
Future

Person – 1 sg.
2 sg.m.
2 sg.f.
3 sg.m.
3 sg.f.
1 pl. ex.
1 pl. in.
2 pl.
3 pl.

b) Aspectual – Stem + Aspect + Tense + Person.

Class 1 :

Stem – Marked – base + i

Class 2 and 3 :

Stem – Marked – base + a

Mood – Unmarked

Tense – Past
Non-past

Person – Same as non-aspectual.

Stem + Negative + Aspect + Tense + Person

Stem – Unmarked
Negative – Marked
Aspect – Marked
Mood – Unmarked

Tense – Past
Non-past

Person – Same as non-aspectual.

Subjunctive:

Stem + Mood + Person

Stem – Unmarked
Mood – Marked
Person – Same as indicative

Stem + Mood + Negative + Person

Stem – Unmarked
Mood – Marked
Negative – Marked
Person – Same as non-aspectual. A possible alternative analysis would be to treat it as a 8 member class against the 9 member class by treating the opposition between the 2nd plural and 3rd plural neutralized.

Imperative:

Stem + Tense + Person

Stem – Unmarked
Mood – Non-segmentable

Tense – Future
– Non-future

Person – Inherently marked for 2nd person only.

Stem + Negative + Tense + Person

Stem – Marked – base + o
Mood – Non-segmentable

Tense – Future
Non-future

Person – Inherently marked for 2nd person only.

Optative :

Stem + Mood + Person

Stem – Unmarked
Mood – Marked

Person – 3 sg.m.
3 sg. f.
3 pl.

Stem + Negative + Mood + Person

Stem – Marked – base + o

Negative – Marked
Mood – Marked

Person – 3 sg.m.
3 sg.f.
3 pl.

5.13. Non-finite Verbs :

Non-finite verb forms are forms which are not marked for mood, tense or aspect. They may, however, be marked for the subject, i.e., they may take person-number marker in agreement with the subject. The non-finite verbs are of three types, participles, gerund and infinitives.

5.14. Participles :

The participles fall into five groups, adjectivals, perfectives, imperfectives, conditional and adverbial.

5.14.1. Adjectival Participle :

There are three adjectival participles,

present participle – present stem + u, baju – 'the one who strikes'
habitual participle – present stem + po, bajpo – 'what usually strikes'
past participle – present stem + pe, bajpe – 'what struk'

(i) The present participle, present stem + u, when functions as a nominal is marked for gender, number and case. For example,

a : pesa qa :lgruh a : pa : wan e :kdah

The one who is robbed is going on that road.

oṛg ula okuh eṅki ba :yeh

Person sitting in the house is my brother.

bika maṅyun bi : ka

Call the man who is begging.

In the predicative position it is conjugated like other adjectives.

e :n bitu - n	–	I am the cook
ni :n bitu - y	–	You are the cook
a :h bitu - h	–	He is the cook
a :d bitu - d	–	She is the cook
e :m bitu - m	–	We (ex.) are cooks

na :m bitu - y – We (in.) are cooks
ni :m bitu - r – You are cooks
a :r bitu - r – They are cooks

The following examples show the attributive function of the participle.

coyu boḍa – 'flying snake'
olgu maqeh – 'crying child'
qandru maler – 'sleeping men'
dari kaju pel maqer – 'cloth washing women'
mal moqu jogyeh – 'man eating sorceror'

(ii) The habitual participle, present stem + po, when functions as a nominal is marked for gender, number and case.

ba :ycnaqpor barcar – The relatives who are avoided, came.
a :d moqpon qeg̣yad – She bought things which are eaten.

As an adjectival it occurs in predicative and attributive positions.

ki :ṛwa malerik pesa ciypo – Money is given to the poor man
i : pa :n parb be :r moqpo – These fruits are eaten at the time of festivals.

and,

lappo si :je – 'things which are eaten'
qaṛypo sawda – 'things for worshipping'
ḍole nahpo kaṭi – 'stick for striking drum'
daṛi aktarpo dawṛa – 'rope for hanging clothes'

(iii) The past participle, present base + pe, when functions as a nominal is marked for gender, number and case.

topypeh maṛinte co :cah – The buried one arose from the grave.

a :r bitpen lapyar – They ate the cooked things.

As an adjectival it occurs in predicative and attributive positions.

i :ḍno biṛin o :not cilpe – It is forbidden to smoke here.
ḍolen cambet ca :wype – The drum is covered with leather.
man kaṅrono cica me :ndpe – Fire is lit in the hollow of the tree.

In the attributive position the final -e is dropped.

keyp pacge – 'dead old man'
kuṛp ce :te – 'baked fish'
boṅgp maler – 'run away men'
sindra qaprp daṛi – 'vermillion smeared cloth'

5.14.2. Perfect Participles :

There are two perfect participles,

Past stem + a, lapa – 'having eaten'
Past stem + ka, barcaka – 'having come'

Both the participles occur in identical environments and show person-number concord with the noun by which they are governed.

(i) The -a participle has a variant -e, which occurs before 2nd singular, plural, 3rd singular feminine and 1st plural inclusive. When the participle occurs immediately before a finite verb governed by the same subject, the participle usually does not take the person markers, and the formative itself may be dropped. For example,

e :n ondr ondr ba :ṭyan – I shall distribute having brought it.
a :h daṛin ḍaban oc oc teyah – He threw clothes having taken those out.

The participle may occur with person concord when immediately followed by a finite verb.

e :n na :ran anḍa coṛṅtan – Having found the ghost, I was startled.

ṭa :ṭge pañje cograđ – Having ripened the mangoes fell down.
ni :ṁ oce ba :ṭyok – Having taken you distribute.

In other environments the participle shows person-number concord with the subject. The person-number class is an 8 term system in these environments, without being distinguished for masculine and feminine in the 2nd person singular. The forms are,

oca - n	1 sg.
oce	2 sg.
oca - h	3 sg.m.
oce - đ	3 sg.f.
oca - m	1 pl. ex.
oce - y	1 pl. in.
oce - r	2 pl.
oca - r	3 pl.

The negative of this participle is formed by adding the suffix -balo to the participle. But the structure of the negative form is, present stem + a + negative.

a : maqođ ṭunḍabalo patlino puđyađ
That girl poured into the pot without seeing it.

kaṛkabalo eyke – Bind it without tightening it.

me :nabalo ikni ciyene – How will you give without asking?

(ii) The -ka participle has two more variants -ke and -ki. The -ke occurs in 2nd singular, plural and 1st plural inclusive; -ki before 3rd singular feminine and -ka elsewhere. The person-number class in this frame is an 8 member system without distinction for masculine/feminine in 2nd singular.

The stem for the -ka participle is the past stem, i.e., for class 1 bases it is unmarked and for other bases it is marked. The formative -a of the marked stem has a variant -e when followed by -ke and -ki. Thus, the forms are,

onḍa - ka - n – 1 sg. – 'having drunk'
onḍe - ke – 2 sg.
onḍa - ka - h – 3 sg.m.
onḍe - ki - d – 3 sg.f.
onḍa - ka - m – 1 pl. ex.
onḍe - ke - y – 1 pl. in.
onḍe - ke - r – 2 pl.
onḍa - ka - r – 3 pl.

The structure of the negative of this participle is, Present Stem + Negative + Participle marker + Person marker. The negative is realized as, / -la~-le/. -le occurs before the front vowels and -la elsewhere. For example,

o :n - la - ka - n – 1 sg. – 'not having drunk'
o :n - le - ke – 2 sg.
o :n - la - ka - h – 3 sg.m., etc.

5.14.3. Imperfect Participles :

There are two imperfect participles,

present base + ne, e :kne – 'at the time of going'

present base + no, e :kno – 'while going, in case of going'

(i) The -ne participle takes the concord category person-number. It has a variant -ni which occurs only before 2nd singular feminine and 3rd singular femine. The forms are,

e :k - ne - n – 1 sg.
e :k - ne - y – 2 sg.m.
e :k - ni - y – 2 sg.f.
e :k - ne - h – 3 sg.m.
e :k - ni - d – 3 sg.f.
e :k - ne - m – 1 pl. ex.
e :k - ne - y – 1 pl. in.
e :k - ne - r – 2 pl.
e :k - ne - r – 3 pl.

The following sentences illustrate the usage of the participle.

a :r bedner bedner barnar – They are coming, searching.
maqeh piṭa minneh minneh ekyah – The boy went eating the bread'

a :r olgner pa :ṛner awḍar – They spoke crying and shouting.
a :d bȯṅgnid ekyađ – She went running.

(ii) The -no participle does not take person-number concord category. It is usually reduplicated to indicate the durative action.

barno barno biṛmarađ – It became late while coming.
lapno lapno ta :riđ oṛsyađ – The place got broken while eating'.

e :kno e :kno pa :wno ort maleh eka jimrah – A man met me on the road while going.

5.14.4. Conditional Participle :

The structure of this participle is, past stem + ko. The class of verbs which have marked past stems, do not take the stem formative before the participle marker. Therefore, the forms are not *barcako, but barcko; *teqrako, but teqrko. The participle is used in connecting two clauses of a sentence.

bora teqrko ti :qldu e :građ – Because the sack gave away, rice fell down.
e :n ṭu :ḍ barcko cirqtan – I shouted because the tiger came.
ta :ke barcko am ḍawqiđ – The water is agitated because the wind is blowing.

The negative of this participle is formed by adding the negative -lo to the present stem.

pesa beyloko e :n dokaninte da :r ondrayin – I have borrowed from the shopkeeper because I had no money.

bikarloko e :m kirtam – We came back because it did not sell.

5.14.5. Adverbial Participle :

The structure of this participle is present base + o. The participle may occur independently as in,

be :r argo – 'sun-rising time'
be :r eto – 'sun set'

It occurs before particles lagca - 'for' and orgi - 'till'. Both these forms take person markers in agreement with the subject.

e :n ṭunḍo lagcan baran – I shall come for seeing.
a :h ṭunḍo lagcah baranah – He will come for seeing.
e :m ṭunḍo lagcam baranam – We shall come for seeing, etc.

Similarly,

ṭunḍoh orgin – 'till I come'
ṭunḍoh orgih – 'till he comes'
ṭunḍoh orgim – 'till we come', etc.

The intrusive -h after the participle is explained by the morphophonemic rule.

The participle also occurs before the verb bed-, meaning 'is wanted'.

eṅe ṭunḍo bediđ – I want to see, lit. Seeing is wanted by me.
eṅe umblo bediđ – I want to pass urine.
eṅe qandro bediđ – I want to sleep.

5.15. Gerund :

The structure of the gerund is present base + e. It occurs both in the subjective and attributive positions.

i :ḍno biṛin o :ne do :se – Smoking here is punishable.
ḍaḍeno do :ke name muskile maneniđ – Living in the forest would be difficult for us.

a :h bare hon i : poṭon bajanah – He will beat this picture as soon as he comes.
moqe ciyloko a :r on ra :garah – They became angry because food was not given.

The gerund when occurs in the attributive position, the final -e is dropped. It should be noted that the occurrence of the gerund in the attributive position has become somewhat idiomatic, as the construction is not very productive.

olg dundo	–	'crying butterfly'	–	'kind of butterfly'
oṅq male	–	'drinking man'	–	'drunkard'
bij merg	–	'dawning sky'	–	'morning sky'
elc male	–	'frightened man'	–	'coward'
muṛg̣ mandr	–	'uprooting medicine'	–	'slow poison'
kagl ḍole	–	'dying drum'	–	'death drum'
arg be :r	–	'climbing sun'	–	'sun rise'
erg̣ tilṅr	–	'execrating fly'	–	'green bottle fly'

5.16. Infinitive :

The structure of the infinitive is present stem + oti. In connected speech the final vowel -i is dropped.

e :n pu :pa toqot beṅlin – I am stretching hand to pluck flowers.
a :r ḍaḍe jarek boṅgot lagyar – They began to flee to the forests.
i :h namki ra :jin bacot bardah – He is coming to snatch our land.
e :n bajarek baṛdi bisot oyin – I am taking the bull to sell it in the market.
a :r eṅemeṅe ra :ji bacrnaqot lagyar – They began to take away each other's land.

5.17. Compound Verb :

A compound verb is a morphological construction of two roots which makes an immediate constituent with the negative. A compound differs from a sequence in that, the constituents of a compound cannot be negativized separately, while the constituents of a sequence can be negativized independently. For example,

a : jogyeh meñjah awḍah – The mendicant said after hearing.
a : jogyeh me:nabalo awḍah – The mendicant said without hearing.
a : jogyeh meñjah awḍlah – The mendicant did not say after hearing.
a : jogyeh me:nabalo awḍlah – The mendicant did not say without hearing.

According to this criterion all constructions, including 'coordinate constructions' are treated as freely combining forms and are treated as sequences.

A compound verb as a morphological construction is characterized by several limitations. These are limitations of insertion, limitations of substitution, limitations of sequence, limitations of independence, limitations of non-phonemic structure and limitations of expansion (See, Bazell, 1957). However, the most important of these is the co-occurrence restriction between the constituents of a compound. The characteristic structure of a compound verb is Stem$_1$ + Stem$_2$. The Stem$_1$ is a past stem (without the stem formative in case of marked bases) which is fused to the Stem$_2$. The set of verbs which can occur in S$_2$ position are restricted. There are,

et – 'to get down'
oṅ – 'to finish'
bar – 'to come'
e:k – 'to go'
kud – 'to do'
kaṭ – 'to pass'
tey – 'to send'
urq – 'to come out'
ondr – 'to bring'
oy – 'to take'

As S$_2$ verbs they modify the meaning of S$_1$.

et – abrupt termination of an action. It occurs with verbs like, koḍ - 'to lie down', e : k - 'to go', bar - 'to come', boṅg̣ - 'to flee', etc. For example,

a : h oketyah – he sat down
a : h boṅg̣etyah – he ran away, etc.

oṅ – completion of an action. It occurs with verbs like, lap - 'to eat', min - 'to chew', otr - 'to bring out', ṭe : ky - 'to occupy', tey - 'to send', kaj - 'to wash clothes', etc.

bar – action oriented towards the speaker. It occurs with verbs like, kir - 'to return', iṛmb - 'to slip', band - 'to pull', etc.

e : k – continuation of an action. It occurs with verbs like, komar - 'to decrease', man - 'to become', amb - 'to leave', bed - 'to search', etc.

kud – exaggeration of an action. It occurs with verbs like, gurar - 'to wander', cary - 'to stroll', many - 'to beg', nih - 'to shoot', nal - 'to dance', etc.

kaṭ – surpassing an action. It occurs with verbs like, beg - 'to jump' kor - 'to enter', caṛqr - 'to miss', etc.

tey – expediting an action. It occurs with verbs like me : nd - 'to light fire', peh - 'to raise', oy - 'to take', ey - 'to bind', otr - 'to take out', etc.

urq – forcing an action. It occurs with verbs like, band - 'to pull', nurg - 'to drag', mulg̣ - 'to draw water', etc.

ondr – to initiate an action away from the speaker. It occurs with verbs like, lap - 'to eat', baj - 'to beat', ceḍ - 'to carry', etc.

oy – to initiate an action towards the speaker. It occurs with verbs like, lap - 'to eat', baj - 'to beat', ceḍ - 'to carry', etc.

5.17.1. Noun-Verb Compounds :

A number of nouns immediately followed by a small set of verb roots constitute nuclei of compound constructions. Semantically, these constructions fall into two groups, productive and idiomatic.

a) Productive Compounds :

The verbs which occur in this construction are,

(i) man – 'to be'

ra :jaram mañjar	–	'to be happy'
beḍo mañjar	–	'to be big'
muskile mañjar	–	'to be difficult'

Other nouns which occur in this position are, besi - 'excess', cirobiri - 'dispersion', odbadi - 'contest', saba - 'meeting', laṛay - 'fight', deri - 'delay', usyar - 'carefulness', soñ - 'friend', ḍera - 'house', ṭik - 'right', mujrapati - 'respect', beñj - 'marriage', bond - 'stop', etc.

Three other nominals, go : gi - 'speaking', baḍe - 'knowing', and maṛe - 'fond of' which occur in this frame are conjugated differently.

Present	:	e :n baḍen	–	I know
		ni :n baḍey	–	you know
		a :h baḍeh	–	he knows, etc.
Past	:	e :n baḍ mañjatan	–	I knew
		ni :n baḍ mañjete	–	you knew
		a :h baḍ mañjah	–	he knew, etc.
Future	:	e : n baḍ manan	–	I shall know
		ni :n baḍ manene	–	you will know
		a :h baḍ mananah	–	he will know, etc.

(ii) nan – 'to do'

berbad nanyar	–	'to cause destruction'
gobol nanyar	–	'to occupy'
barpay nanyar	–	'to do good'

Other nouns which occur in this construction are, na :mi - 'name', goṭa - 'one', udis - 'judging', budi - 'cunning', bepari - 'business', sapa - 'clean', beñj - 'marriage', mo : n - 'wish', ṭik - 'right', ji : d - 'arrogance', bond - 'close', kacal - 'bothering', modot - 'help', etc.

(iii) kor – 'to enter'

i :ksi korcad	–	(lit. jealousy entered), 'became jealous'
me :d korcad	–	became feverish

(iv) gaṛar – 'to build'

ma :k gaṛarad	–	became meat
jaṛ gaṛarad	–	became rain
man gaṛarad	–	became a tree, etc.

(v) lag – 'to feel'

ki :ṛe lagyad	–	'felt hungry'
parmasi lagyad	–	'felt better'
panye lagyad	–	'felt cold'
qaṛqe lagyad	–	'felt bitter', etc.

b) The idiomatic compounds are unique constructions.

qa :n lag	– eye + to touch	––	'to cast an evil eye'
qa :n eg̣	– eye + to cool	––	'to take rest'
am baḣr	– water + to flow	––	'to piss'
e :ṛ beqr	– goat + to choke	––	'to hang oneself'

5.18. Balance Verbs :

As in the case of the nouns, there are a few verb roots which occur as balance words with other verbs.

ḍo :ka oka	– stay + sit	––	settling comfortably
piṭa baja	– beat + kill	––	beating severely
arga pesga	– dig + poke	––	digging laboriously
ṭuṅḍa aqa	– see + know	––	knowing critically

moqa lapa	– eat + eat	––	eating fully
eka boṅga	– go + flee	––	going hurriedly
amca noḍra	– take bath + dry	––	bathing fully
olga pa :ṛa	– weep + sing	––	weeping bitterly
beqa pa :ka	– embrace + taking in arm	––	embracing warmly
kajra oṭra	– cry + shout	––	crying bitterly
ko : ḍa qandra	– lie down + sleep	––	sleeping soundly
paṛca likca	– read + write	––	educated
gurara carara	– wander + walk	––	wandering aimlessly
ceḍa kuma	– carry on shoulder + carry on head	––	carrying in all possible manners
oka coya	– sit + get up	––	moving freely
bita oda	– cook + light fire	––	cooking perfectly
kosa ita	– share + divide	––	sharing properly
tota bega	– run + jump	––	running happily
kelara alqa	– play + laugh	––	playing happily
sikatara bujatara	– teach + make understand	––	helping to see reasons
naḍa pa :ṛa	– dance + sing	––	enjoying thoroughly
baja taṛca	– beat + slap	––	beating severely
qosa narga	– burn + be in flames	––	burning furiously

The balance words give the meaning of completion to an action. It is obvious from these examples that only semantically related words occur as balance words.

CHAPTER 6

ADVERB

6.1. Adverbs :

Adverbs are a class of words which occur as attributes to verb phrases. To this class, also belongs a set of uninflected monomorphemic words which function as pure adverbs, that is words specially distinctive of the class, because they do not have any other function. Semantically, the class includes, adverbs of place, time, manner answering the questions, where, when and how respectively.

6.2. Adverb Stems :

Adverbs, according to their form, are simple, complex and compound. The simple stems consist of a single root morpheme ; the complex stem a root plus suffix and a compound stem of two roots.

(a) Simple Stems :–

Simple adverb stems are the stems of a single root. These cannot be identified by morphological criteria. In syntax, they fill the same slots as the adverbials.

ina	–	'today'
inor	–	'now'
cewr	–	'yesterday'
ci :g	–	'silently'
ba :g	–	'fortunately'
mul	–	'initially'
besi	–	'more'
laboh	–	'much'
cuḍi	–	'later'
ikni	–	'how'

(b) Complex Stems :—

Complex or derived adverbs consist of a single root, belonging to noun or adjectives, followed by derivative suffixes. The derivative suffixes are -ond, -no and -t.

Root		Adverb		
dina	—	dinond	—	one day
ke :po	—	ke :pond	—	one time
ri :ko	—	ri :kond	—	slowly
i :	—	i : no	—	this side
a :	—	a :no	—	that side
ik	—	ikno	—	which side?
ra :ge	—	ra :get	—	angrily
mo : ne	—	mo : net	—	contemplatively
pahi	—	pahit	—	in a row
kaṛe	—	kaṛet	—	carefully, etc.

(c) Compound Stems :—

Adverbs of more than one root occur, with or without the additional or derivational suffixes.

i : + kaṛa	—	'at this time'
a : + kaṛa	—	'at that time'
i : + be :r	—	'at this day'
a : + be :r	—	'at that day'
i : + leko	—	'like this'
i : + a :r + no	—	'at this side'
ik + a :r + no	—	'in which side?'
goṭ + a :r + no	—	'on all sides'
ne :l + beñje	—	'day after tomorrow', etc.

6.3. Classification of Adverbs :

The following is a classification of the adverbs.

(a) Time :—

i : kaṛa — 'at this time' i : be :r — 'on this day'

a: kaṛa	'at that time'	a: be:r	'on that day'
ik kaṛa	'at what time?'	ik be:r	'on what day?'

inor - 'now', ina - 'today', ne:la - 'tomorrow', ne:l beñje - 'day after tomorrow', cewru - 'yesterday', ulote - 'day before yesterday', e:so - 'this year', paru - 'last year', paryari - 'year before last', pihne - 'coming year', mucne - 'year after next', cuḍi - 'later', basla - 'for ever', ma:qondi - 'in the morning', bijno - 'at day break', etc. This class also includes case marked adverbial nouns like,

pahreno	'at the hour'
dineno	'at the day'
peḍeno	'at the time', etc.

(b) Place :–

i:ḍno	'here'	i:arno	'at this place'
a:ḍno	'there'	a:arno	'at that place'
ikḍno	'where?'	ikarno	'at what place?'

i: piko - 'this direction', a: piko - 'that direction', ik piko - 'which direction?', ino - 'in this side', ano - 'at that side', goṭ a:rno - 'on all sides'. This class also includes case marked adverbial nouns like,

biṭeno	'by the side'
bahano	'near'
samneno	'in front of'
qo:qno	'behind'

(c) Manner:–

The adverbs of manner include a few unmarked roots and participle verbs which function as adverbials.

ba:g – 'fortunately'

i:h jahan ba:g eka jimrah – Fortunately, he too came.

mul – 'initially'

a:t mul e:n orten i manjatan – Otherwise, I was alone initially.

parmasi – ‘well’

arịn parmasi oktara – Make them sit well.

ciːg – ‘silently’

aː maler ciːg koːḍnar – Those men are sleeping silently.

sewṛe – ‘completely’

ejđ sewṛ kecađ – The bear died completely.

toːtotri – ‘quickly’

aːd toːtori piṭa bite cicađ – She gave the bread cooking quickly.

The participles which function as adverbials are,

laːṛko teːni bunbunre coːcađ – Because of shaking, the honey bees flew away buzzingly.

tiːqldu borborre eːgrađ – Rice came out with noise.

nan dina siyaṛeđ giṛgiṛre ekyađ – Next day, the jackals came hurriedly.

The case marked nouns which function as adverbials are,

aːh raːget baranah – He will come angrily.

aːr pahit gacarar – They came in a row.

CHAPTER 7

FUNCTION WORDS

7.1. Function Words :

The four major form-classes which are established for Malto are nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. The forms which belong to the noun system are marked with formative elements like gender, number or case. The uninflected forms which function as attributes to the noun are called adjectives. They occur with nouns in endocentric modification structures or as predicate adjectives. The forms which belong to the verb system are marked with formative elements like mood, tense, aspect and person. Adverbs are uninflected forms which occur as sentence adjuncts. They function as attributes to the verbs. The adverbs include all words that fill the same function as the adverbials.

Besides these four major form-classes, all other uninflected particles are function words and include the conjunctives, relators, intensifiers, emphatics etc. The function words of Malto are all particles and barring a few cases they are generally uninflected. These function words are divided into groups according to their syntactic usage. These are,

(1) Words that connect two syntactic units :

- (a) when the particles are not constituents of either of the units they are called conjunctives,
- (b) when the particles are constituents of one of the units they are called relators.

(2) Words which intensify a single syntactic unit and are neither adjectives nor adverbs, they are called intensifiers. They place emphasis upon a particular word or phrase.

(3) Words which are syntactically independent and are completely independent of the sentence are interjective particles. This group includes mainly the interjections and vocatives of the

language which occur within a sentence without affecting the syntax of the sentence itself.

7.2. Conjunctives :

Conjunctives are the function words which connect two similar syntactic units, without being an immediate constituent of either unit. These are,

tan – 'that'

a : loker ṭunḍnar tan laboh ote – Those people saw that it was very heavy.

je – 'that'

a :r awḍnar je ni :m ti : ql loṭan ondratar – They say that you took the pot of rice.

ki – 'that'

ra : jah budi lagatarah ki i : lekot ka : me manenid – The king thought that the work would not be done this way.

ar – 'and'

setaler ar pahṛyar laṛay mañjar – The Santals and the Pahariyas fought.

mala – 'or'

iden oya mala aden oya – Take this or take that.

pa : re – 'but'

a :r pudyar pa : re oyot lo : ṛlar – They poured but they could not take it.

ate – 'otherwise'

ina jahan kucod eṛatarad ate keylegan – Fortunately the dog saved you today, otherwise would you not have died?

andih – 'therefore'

ni : m baksan ondratar andih e : m kirtaratam – You brought the box, therefore we returned it.

7.3.b. Relators :

1. The relators are the function words which connect two units and are immediate constituents of one of the units. Structurally the postpositions also fall into this category.

ambaṭ – 'till'

e :n beṛi ambaṭ ḍo :ktan – I was there till the evening.

tak – 'up to'

iranpur tak en sat bara – Come with me up to Hiranpur.

lagca – 'for'

e :n ṭunḍo lagcan baran – I shall come to see.

orgi – 'till'

e :n baroh orgin oka – Sit till I come.

lagno – 'by the side of'

oṛgdu ḍaḍ lagno becyad – The house was by the side of the forest.

7.3.1. ii. Postpositions :

The postposition occurs after a noun or a noun phrase which it governs. The noun which is governed is in oblique case if it is a two-stem noun or else it is uninflected.

kon – 'near, towards'

eṅkon bara – Come near me.

e :h ra :ja kon aṛsyah – He reached near the king.

sat – 'with, in company of'

eṅ sat bara – Come with me.

a :h ra :ja sat e :kdah – He is coming with the king.

oṛ – 'till'

ma :q oṛ a :r na :lanar – They will dance till night.

da :na – 'like'

a :ḥ ṭu :ḍ da :na nirqdah – He is roaring like a tiger.

leko – 'like'

a :r em leko tarbalin calatarot baḍ mañjar – They knew to fence like us.

camo – 'in front of'

e :n ahi camo oka gogin – I am speaking sitting in front of him.

upur – 'upon, with'

setaler iṅraji upur ra :garar – The Santals were angry with the English.

7.4.2. Intensifiers :

The intensifiers are function words which are linked with a single syntactic unit which it emphasizes.

i – 'certainly'

e :n e :kan i – I shall go certainly.

ako – 'perhaps'

e :n e :kan ako – I shall go probably.

ay – 'quotative'

e :n ina barcatan ay – "I came today", so said.

to – 'very one'

i :d to ti :ql loṭa malad – This very one is not the pot of rice.

jan – 'too'

e :n jan copan ciylayin – I too have not given the husk.

jahan – 'also'

iker jahan pucylar – No one also cared.

on – 'too'

nim sat e :m on e :klem – If we too could go with you.

bay – 'god-damn fellow'

niːn bay jarqlene – You fool, won't you fall down?

ga – 'also'

niːn ga ikḍek eːkde – Where are you too going?

7.5.3. Interjectives :

The interjectives are the function words which are syntactically independent of the utterance in which they occur, or by themselves form an utterance. They include the vocatives, interjections and a set of special command words.

(i) Vocatives :–

are –

are aba, eːn qondtan – Oh, father! I am tired.

aṛe –

aṛe, niːn bay jarqlene – Hey! you! Won't you fall down?

(ii) Interjections :–

oo – 'yes'

oo, eːn baran – Yes, I will come.

mala – 'no'

mala raːja, eːm iriki ṭakan ṭunḍlaydam – No, king! We have not seen their money.

uhu – 'use for pleasant surprise'

uhu, muri maqo pinḍid – Aha! The little dove is cooing.

bapre – 'my God!'

bapre, golond jaːgun ikeh oṅganah – My God! Who will finish a granary full of rice?

aca – 'alright'

aca, niːn bara – Okay, you come!

kejane – 'dubitative'

kejane, ik kaṛa jaṛe poyenid – Who knows, when would it rain.

ci – 'disgust'

ci, nu :toma – Don't touch.

(iii) Command Particles :–

deka/dekṛe – 'come on!'

deka qo :wa – Come on!, carry it!

ambe – 'wait'

ambe mendoma – Hold it! don't bury!

unda – 'take it!'

und ku :ṛe – Take it! (used for one person).
und ku :ne – Take it! (used for more persons).

CHAPTER 8

COMPARATIVE NOTES ON MALTO DIALECTS

8.1. Malto Dialects :

It has already been discussed in some length (See, Introduction 1.2), that three major dialects have to be recognised for Malto, corresponding to the three main ethnic subgroups, i.e., Malpahariya, Kumarbhag and Sawriya. The Talukwise population figure for the different subgroups of this tribe in the district of Santal Parganas, Bihar, for the year 1951, according to Vidyarthi's source is as follows (1963, p. 180) :

Taluk		Sawriya	Malpaharia	Kumarbhag
Rajmahal	..	32,048	3,358	--
Pakur	..	10,916	4,906	6,862
Godda	..	10,612	1,531	4,895
Deoghar	..	--	1,224	30
Jamtara	..	--	1,670	725
Dumka	..	--	27,291	--
Total	..	53,576	39,980	12,512 = 106,068

But this figure is not necessarily also the figure for the Malto language speakers. As the confusion about the name 'Malpaharia' is persisting till date, it is reasonably safe to assume for the 1951 Census, that it returned both the Malto speaking 'Malpaharias' and the Indo-Aryan Speaking 'Marpaharias' under a single name 'Malpaharia'. However, it can be said with fair amount of certainty that the Marpharias are rarely settled in any appreciable number out-side the last three Taluks or subdivisions of the district, i.e., Deoghar, Jamtara and Dumka. Similarly, the Malpaharias are mainly concentrated in the first three subdivisions, i.e., Rajmahal, Pakur and Godda. On this basis, we can fix the number of Malto speaking Malpaharias for the year 1951 roughly at 9,795. The other two groups, i.e., Sawriya and Kumarbhag pose no specific problem, as they are exclusively Malto speakers.

For the comparative purposes, the data for Sawriya (abbreviated S), Malpaharia (abbreviated M) and Kumarbhag (abbreviated K) dialects will be mainly drawn from the varieties spoken in and around village Deopahar, P.S. Banjhi, Rajmahal; village Maknipahar, P.S. Litipara, Pakur and village Kitajor, P.S. Litipara, Pakur respectively.

8.2. Phonological :

Vowel System :—

K : i i: u u:
e e: o o: e̥ e̥: o̥ o̥:
a a: ḁ ḁ:

S, M : i i: u u:
e e: o o:
a a:

The K vowels fall into two distinct subsystems ; the high vowels which are not contrasted along the dimensions of voicing and the non-high vowels which are contrasted along the dimension of voicing. The contrast between voiced and voiceless vowels is restricted only to the word-initial position. For example,

e̥tin	—	'I am getting down'
etin	—	'I am dusting'
e̥ :so	—	'this year'
e :so	—	'red'
o̥te	—	'heavy'
ote	—	'having cut'
o̥ :ja	—	'twist it!'
o :ja	—	'remove it!'
ḁṭ	—	'to spread'
aṭ	—	'to give'

ḁ :n – 'to speak'
a :n – 'eye'

The correspondences for the vowels are,

K M, S

i, i : → i, i :

K – ina, M – ina, S – ine – 'to day'
i :s, i :s, i :s – 'to tear'

u, u : → u, u :

K – ula, M – ula, S – ule – 'inside'
u :r, u :r, u :r – 'to blow'

e̥, e̥ : → e, e :

K – e̥lc, M – elc, S – elc – 'to fear'
e̥ :g, e :g, e :g – 'to throw'

o̥, o̥ : → o, o :

K – o̥rt, M – ort, S – ort – 'one'
o̥ :n, o :n, o :n – 'to drink'

ḁ, ḁ : → a, a :

K – ḁc, M – ac, S – ac – 'thorn'
ḁ :h, a :g̣ a :g̣ – 'to know'

e, e : → qe, qe :

K – en, M – qen, S – qen – 'to cohabit'
e :n, – qe :n, qe :n – 'to shake'

o, o : → qo, qo :

K – oṭ, M – qoṭ, S – qoṭ – 'to break'
o :ro, qo :ro, qo :ro – 'infant'

a, a : → qa, qa :

K – aṭ, M – qaṭ, S – qaṭ – 'to give'
a :p, qa :p, qa :p – 'to watch'

The historical reasons for the development of the K vowel subsystems could be that the devoiced vowels occurred only word-initially and the voiced vowels occurred elsewhere including before /q/. The loss of /q/ word-initially brought the voiceless and voiced vowels in the initial position into contrast.

Vowel Quantity :–

Barring a few cases, the correspondence between the vowels in terms of quantity is regular. The few items, where the S short vowels correspond to long vowels of other dialects are,

K	M	S		
ta :li	ta :li	tali	–	'hair'
a :n	qa :n	qan	–	'eye'
pa :l	pa :l	pal	–	'tooth'
na :l	na :l	lal	–	'to dance', etc.

Nasalization :–

The status of nasalization in the three dialects is somewhat uncertain. It is clear from the preceding description that nasalization is non-phonemic in the M dialect. In the K dialect it is also non-phonemic. But when a long vowel is followed by [?], spontaneous nasalization of the syllable is common.

[ã :?e] – 'crow'
[õ :?e] – 'back'
[bã :?l] – 'spider', etc.

In the S dialect, there are a few instances, where nasalized vowels contrast with oral vowels. For example,

[ĩhin] – 'I am throwing stone',

[ihin] – ‘to this person’,
[ā́hin] – ‘I am beating the drum’,
[ahin] – ‘to that person’,
[nahin] – ‘to this person’, etc.

In Droese’s transcription (1884), the symbol n̲ is multivalued, i.e., it represents different phonetic and phonemic values. For example,

n̲ – Nasalization of the preceding vowel : in̲h – ‘to throw stone’
an̲h – ‘to beat drum’

These items correspond to nih- and nah- respectively in other dialects.

n̲ – Velar nasal : bánki – ‘ornament worn on legs’
chā́n̲ge – ‘a stage’, etc.
n̲ – Uvular nasal : an̲glo – ‘open-mouthed’
bán̲g̣l - ute – ‘chameleon’, etc.
n̲ṛ – Retroflex nasal : bén̲ṛe – ‘brother-in-law’
chan̲ṛke – ‘lightning’, etc.
n̲y – Palatal nasal : kun̲ye – ‘to throw away’
nen̲ya – ‘fat’, etc.

Consonantal System :–

In the stop series only the /q/ is of interest, as in the K dialect it is initially lost and elsewhere, has changed to [?]. For example,

K	M	S	
aṭ	qoṭ	qoṭ	– ‘to break’
ac	qac	qac	– ‘to snap’

and,

mu :?e	mu : qe	mu :qe	– ‘frog’
min?o	minqo	minqo	– ‘mosquito’
e?l	qeql	qeql	– ‘earth’
te : ?ṛi	te : qṛi	te : qṛi	– ‘needle’

In the nasal series, it is likely that both K and S dialects have a 5 term system against M which is 4 term. The retroflex nasal which occurs only before homorganic stops in M, occurs in all positions except initially in other dialects. In M, [ṇ] has merged with [ṛ]. For example,

K	M	S		
kaṇi	kaṛi	kaṇi	–	'hole'
ḁṇs	aṛs	aṇs	–	'to reach'
be :ṇe	be :ṛe	be :ṇe	–	'brother-in-law'
uda daṇe	uda daṛe	uda daṇe	–	'rainbow'

But, it should be noted that the correspondence between K and S dialects with reference to [ṇ] is not very regular. In a large number of items, the S [ṛ] correspondes to K [ṇ] and perhaps vice versa.

K	M	S		
e̥ṇt	eṛt	eṛt	–	'bow'
kaṇsa	kaṛsa	kaṛsa	–	'pitcher'
kaṇk	kaṛk	kaṛk	–	'to tighten'
sa :ṇe	sa :ṛe	sa :ṛe	–	'bull'

The second nasal which shows some dialect variations is [n]. In the S dialect the opposition between [n] and [l] is neutralized and realized as [l] when followed by [l].

K	M	S		
ne :la	ne :l	le :le	–	'tomorrow'
no :l	no :l	lo:l	–	'gourd'
na :l	na :l	lal	–	'to dance'
nul?	nulq	lulq	–	'to thrust in'

In the fricative series, the two sounds which show dialect variations are [đ] and [g̣]. In K dialect [đ] has merged with [y] in all positions except word-finally.. Word-finally, it is lost.

K	M	S		
ḁ :yu	a :đu	a :đu	–	'she, it'
uyk	uđk	uđk	–	'to bore hole'
ma :ygi	ma :đgi	ma :đgi	–	'mahwa plant'
puyy	puđy	puđy	–	'to pour'

and,

tu :d̥	t̥u :ḍđ	ṭu :ḍđ	–	'the tiger'
e̥ :ki	e :kiđ	e :kiđ	–	'she is coming'

There are a few exceptions to this rule, as [đ] corresponds to [r] in the following words.

bi :ri	bi :đi	biđi	–	'kind of ant'
ti:ri	ti :đi	ti :đi	–	'kind of bird'

In K dialect [g̣] has merged with [h] in all positions.

K	M	S		
ḁ :h	a :g̣	a :g̥	–	'to know'
e :h	qe :g̥	qe :g̣	–	'to buy'
oshe	qosg̣e	qosg̥e	–	'thigh'
mo :he	mo :g̥e	mo :g̥e	–	'smoke'

8.3. Morphophonemic :

The morphophonemic rule $\left[\begin{matrix} q \\ \text{\d{g}} \end{matrix}\right] \Big/ \text{-k} \longrightarrow [qq]$ is inoperative in K dialect.

K	M	S		
ma?ki	maqqi	maqqi	–	'of the child'
to?ka	toqqa	toqqa	–	'having broken'
ṭa :ṭhki	ṭa :ṭqqi	ṭa :ṭqqi	–	'of the mango'
e̥rhka	erqqa	erqqa	–	'having passed stool'

8.4. Morphological :

Noun :– The gender system in all the three dialects is a two term system, masculine and non-masculine. In K dialect the masculine is marked and the non-masculine is unmarked, as opposed to other dialects, where both the genders are marked.

K	M	S		
maleh	maleh	maleh	–	'the man'
sardareh	sardareh	sardareh	–	'the chief'
ma?o	maqođ	maqiđ	–	'the girl'
ṭu :đ̣	ṭu :ḍđ	ṭu :ḍđ	–	'the tiger'

With reference to the plural marker, the nouns are classified as person and non-person. In K and M dialects, the plural occurring with pronominal adjective is -tar. The corresponding marker in the S dialect is -ber in the context of person nouns and -wal in the context of non-person nouns.

K	M	S		
ḁ: tar maler	a :tar maler	a :ber maler	–	'those men'
ḁ :tar ma?er	a :tar maqer	a :ber maqer	–	'those boys'
ḁ :tar peler	a :tar peler	a :ber peler	–	'those women'
ḁ :tar boḍa	a :tar boḍa	a ;wal neru	–	'those snakes'
ḁ :tar patli	a :tar patli	a :wal patli	–	'those pots'
ḁ :tar bi :nke	a :tar bi :nke	a :wal bi :ṅḍke	–	'those stars'

Pronoun :– The demonstrative pronouns in the S dialect is a 3 term system corresponding to two terms in other dialects.

K	M	S		
i :hu	i :hu	i :hu	–	'this man'
ḁ :hu	a :hu	a :hu	–	'that man who is not present'
		na :hu	–	'that man who is present'

The interrogative pronoun in the S. dialect is ne :re - 'who?' and it also takes the plural marker, ne :rer.

ni :n ne :re – 'who are you?'
na : peli ne :re – 'who is that woman?'
ni :m ne :rer – 'who are you (pl.)?'
na :ber ne :rer – 'who are they?'

In other dialects, it corresponds to two persons, ne : du and ike. The former does not take the plural marker.

Classification of Nouns :– The classificatory -du marker of M dialect corresponds to -u in other dialects.

K	M	S		
ṭu :ḍu	ṭu :d̥du	ṭu :d̥u	–	'tiger'
e̥ju	ejdu	eju	–	'bear'
manhu	mang̣du	mang̥u	–	'buffalo', etc.

The accusative of these nouns is formed by adding the case suffix -a to the base in K and M dialects. In the S dialect the case suffix is -e.

ṭu :ḍa	ṭu :ḍa	ṭu :ḍe	–	'to the tiger'
e̥ja	eja	eje	–	'to the bear'

Although, the classification of the nouns with reference to this marker is fairly comparable in all the three dialects, the following discrepancies are noted.

K	M	S		
pelu	peldu	peli	–	'woman'
ga :yu	ga :ydu	——	–	'cow'
tumglu	tumgldu	tumgle	–	'dream'
——	na :ddu	na :du	–	'god'
boḍa	boḍa	neru	–	'snake'
suta	suta	me :ru	–	'thread'
ba :?lu	ba :qldu	makraṇe	–	'spider'

Adjective :– In this form-class, significant variations are found in the area of numeral classifiers. It is to be noted that the numeral classifiers in the S dialect are not investigated by me fully and therefore my observations on the S dialect data are tentative. Correspondence between the S dialect and others is regular as regards the 'live' categories.

K	M	S		
o̥rt maleh	ort maleh	ort maleh	–	'one man' – (human animate)
ma?ond boḍa	maqond boḍa	maqond neru	–	'one snake' – (non-human animate)

But, for the 'shaped' categories, the S dialect has a single inclusive category bahond. This category may be optionally replaced by specific classifiers.

Inclusive	Specific		
bahond ṭeṭu	ḍan̥ond ṭeṭu	–	'one hand'
bahond te :qṛi	ḍaṇond te :qṛi	–	'one needle'
bahond luga	ḍaṇond luga	–	'one cloth'
bahond a :tge	patond a :tge	–	'one leaf'
bahond ṭo :k̇e	paṇond ṭo :k̇e	–	'one hill'
bahond manu	manond manu	–	'one tree'
bahond qesu	kiṛond qesu	–	'one paddy plant'

In this connection, Droese lists the following classifiers for the S dialect (1884, pp.15–17).

ort	–	with reference to person only
maq	–	with reference to animals only
paṭ	–	with reference to objects distinguished for surface
kaḍ	–	with reference to objects of the appearance of tendrils
baha	–	with reference to larger objects

ḍaṇa	–	with reference to objects of which length is the prominent feature
pa :ṇu	–	with reference to objects of which roundness is the distinguishing feature

On the basis of this list comparative list for the dialects may be drawn.

		K, M	S		
'live'	:	ort	ort	–	'human'
		maq	maq	–	'non-human'
'shaped'	:	ḍaṛa	ḍaṇa	–	'long'
		kaṭi (long, small)	kaḍ	–	(long, flexible)
		paṭ	paṭ	–	'broad'
		pa :n	pa :ṇu	–	'round'

Verb :– The Malto verbs are classified as Class-I and II bases, depending upon whether they take -a/-e formatives in the past tense or not. The Class-I bases do not take any formative and the Class-II bases do. Although, this classification is valid for all the three dialects, variations may be found in the classification of individual bases.

K, M		S		
Class-I	–	Class-II		
arg̣		arg̣a	–	'to dig'
piq		piqa	–	'to milch'
padg̣		padg̣a	–	'to be congealed'
Class-II	–	Class-I		
awḍa		awḍ	–	'to speak'
umbla		umbl	–	'to piss', etc.

Causative :– The causative marker -tar of K and M dialects corresponds to -tr in the S dialect.

Tense :— The present tense marker is realized as / -d- ∞ -∅- ∞ -n-/ in M dialect, as /-n- ∞ -∅-/ in K dialect and as /-n- o -∅-/ in S dialect.

In K, present is ∅ before 1 sg., 3 sg.f., and 1 pl.in. and -n- elsewhere.

In M, present is ∅ before 1 sg., 3 sg.f., -n- before 3 pl. and -d- elsewhere.

In S, present is -n- before 2 sg.m., 2 sg.f., 2 pl. and 3 pl., and ∅ elsewhere.

	K	M	S
1 sg.	ḁmb - ∅ - in	amb - ∅ - in	amb - ∅ - in
2 sg.m.	ḁmb - n - e	amb - d - e	amb - n - e
2 sg.f.	ḁmb - n - i	amb - d - i	amb - n - i
3 sg.m.	ḁmb - n - ah	amb - d - ah	amb - ∅ - ih
3 sg.f.	ḁmb - ∅ - i	amb - ∅ - iđ	amb - ∅ - iđ
1 pl.ex.	ḁmb - n - am	amb - d - am	amb - ∅ - im
1 pl.in.	ḁmb - ∅ - ay	amb - d - ey	amb - ∅ - it
2 pl.	ḁmb - n - er	amb - d - ar	amb - n - er
3 pl.	ḁmb - n - er	amb - n - er	amb - n - er

The past tense is realized as /-t- ∞ -y-/ in K and M dialects (for Class-I roots only), corresponding to /-k- ∞ -y-/ in s dialect (for Class-I roots only).

	K	M	S
1 sg.	ḁmb - t - an	amb - t - an	amb - k - en
2 sg.m.	ḁmb - t - e	amb - t - e	amb - k - e
2 sg.f.	ḁmb - t - i	amb - t - i	amb - k - i
3 sg.m.	ḁmb - y - ah	amb - y - ah	amb - y - ah
3 sg.f.	ḁmb - y - a	amb - y - ađ	amb - y - ađ
1 pl.ex.	ḁmb - t - am	amb - t - am	amb - k - em
1 pl.in.	ḁmb - t - ay	amb - t - ey	amb - k - et
2 pl.	ḁmb - t - er	amb - t - ar	amb - k - er
3 pl.	ḁmb - y - ar	amb - y - ar	amb - y ar

The future tense paradigm is formed in K and M dialects upon the base which takes the future stem formatives -a/-e. The stem formatives for the S dialect is uniformly -e. In K dialect, future is ∅ before 1 sg., and elsewhere it is -n.

In M dialect, future is ∅ before 1 sg., and 1 pl.in., and elsewhere it is -n-.

In S dialect, future is -n- before 2 sg.m., 2 sg.f., and 3 sg.f., and elsewhere it is ∅.

	K	M	S
1 sg.	ḁmba - ∅ - n	amba - ∅ - n	ambe - ∅ - n
2 sg.m.	ḁmbe - n - e	ambe - n - e	ambe - n - e
2 sg.f.	ḁmbe - n - i	ambe - n - i	ambe - n - i
3 sg.m.	ḁmba - n - ah	amba - n - ah	ambe - ∅ - h
3 sg.f.	ḁmbe - n - i	ambe - n - id	ambe - n - id
1 pl.ex.	ḁmba - n - am	amba - n - am	ambe - ∅ - m
1 pl.in.	ḁmba - n - ay	ambe - ∅ - y	ambe - ∅ - t
2 pl.	ḁmbe - n - er	amba - n - ar	ambe - ∅ - r
3 pl.	ḁmba - n - ar	amba - n - ar	ambe - ∅ - r

Aspect :– In the S dialect, the finite verbs are not marked for aspect as against K and M dialects.

Person-number :– All the three dialects show identical forms for all persons except for the 1 pl. inclusive. In S dialect 1 pl.in. is realized as -t as against -y in other dialects.

	K	M	S
1 pl.in.			
Present –	ḁmb - ∅ - ay	amb - d - ey	amb - ∅ - it
Past –	ḁmb - t - ay	amb - t - ey	amb - k - et
Future –	ḁmba - n - ay	ambe - ∅ - y	ambe - ∅ - t

Negative :– As regards the negative formation of the finite verbs, K and M dialects fairly agree and therefore are not illustrated separately here. The S dialect forms show the following variations.

Present Negative :– Negative stem + Negative + Present + Person-number.

	M	S
1 sg.	ambo - mal - 0 - tan	ambo - l - 0 - ken
2 sg.m.	ambo - mal - 0 - te	ambo - l - 0 - ke
2 sg.f.	ambo - mal - 0 - ti	ambo - l - 0 - ki
3 sg.m.	ambo - mal - 0 - ah	ambo - l - 0 - ah
3 sg.f.	ambo - mal - 0 - ađ	ambo - l - 0 - ađ
1 pl.ex.	ambo - mal - 0 - tam	ambo - l - 0 - kem
1 pl.in.	ambo - mal - 0 - tey	ambo - l - 0 - ket
2 pl.	ambo - mal - 0 - tar	ambo - l - 0 - ker
3 pl.	ambo - mal - 0 - ar	ambo - l - 0 - ar

Past Negative :– Stem + Negative + Past + Person-number.

	M	S
1 sg.	amb - la - t - an	amb - le - k - en
2 sg.m.	amb - le - t - e	amb - le - k - e
2 sg.f.	amb - le - t - i	amb - le - k - i
3 sg.m.	amb - la - 0 - h	amb - la - 0 - h
3 sg.f.	amb - la - 0 - đ	amb - la - 0 - đ
1 pl.ex.	amb - la - t - am	amb - le - k - em
1 pl.in.	amb - le - t - ey	amb - le - k - et
2 pl.	amb - la - t - ar	amb - le - k - er
3 pl.	amb - la - 0 - r	amb - la - 0 - r

Future Negative :– M. Stem + Negative + Future + Person-number. S. Stem + Future + Person-number + Negative.

1 sg.	amb - la - 0 - n	ambe - 0 - n - la
	amb - le - n - e	ambe - n - e - la

	M	S
1 sg.	amb - le - n - i	ambe - n - i - la
	amb - la - n - ah	ambe - ∅ - h - la
	amb - le - n - iđ	ambe - n - iđ - la
	amb - la - n - am	ambe - ∅ - m - la
	amb - le - ∅ - y	ambe - ∅ - t - la
	amb - la - n - ar	ambe - ∅ - r - la
	amb - la - n - ar	ambe - ∅ - r - la

Imperative :– The future imperative is realized as -ku in the S dialect as against -ke in other dialects.

K, M	S
anb - ke	amb - ku

Non-finites :– There is no corresponding form in K and M dialects for the -le participle of the S dialect.

8.5 Lexical :

The lexical variants will be discussed broadly under two types, (a) common roots with partial modifications, and (b) unrelated roots. The following list, without claiming to be exhaustive tries to give a comprehensive idea about the extent of dialect variation.

(a) Common roots with partial modifications :–

K	M	S		
kebu	kebu	keblu	–	‘chin’
tebṛc	tebṛe	tebo	–	‘lip’
muso	muso	munu	–	‘nose’
dape	dape	dapna	–	‘shoulder’
ṭokṇa	ṭokṛa	koṭṇa	–	‘gizzard’
mama	mama	moma	–	‘maternal uncle’

K	M	S		
ma?o	maqo	maqi	–	‘girl’
na :ñju	na :ñjdu	na :ñu	–	‘cold season’
bi :nke	bi :nke	bi :ṇḍke	–	‘star’
ina	ina	ine	–	‘today’
to :ṛi	to :ṛi	ṭo :ṭi	–	‘pungent’
irw	irw	iwr	–	‘two’
ḁn̊rata	an̊raka	an̊ga	–	‘shirt’
bey	bey	beh	–	‘to be’
man	man	men	–	‘to be’
nih	nih	ĩh	–	‘to throw stone’
ṭogy	ṭogy	ṭagy	–	‘to cheat’

(b) Unrelated roots :–

koco	koco	pura	–	‘belly’
kapaṛe	kapaṛe	nepe	–	‘forehead’
kaṇme	kaṛme	kakali	–	‘waist’
muso kaṇi	muso tu :tro	muñ komba	–	‘nostril’
ba :sla	masla	e :đo	–	‘cockroach’
boḍa	boḍa	neru	–	‘snake’
dudu	dudu	aya	–	‘mother’
uwa	baya	baya	–	‘elder brother’
schase	paln̊gaje	paln̊gje	–	‘cucumber’
ḁlna	alna	ađwa	–	‘steamed rice’
kulsi	maṛgro	maṛgro	–	‘black’
porda	porda	purni	–	‘water lily’
celke	celke	dan̊ṛya	–	‘young man’
kuco	kuco	ale	–	‘dog’
kaṭaṛe	kaṭaṛe	paṇsa	–	‘jack fruit’
ḁ :ṭo	a :ṭo	atu	–	‘fire-place’
poñan̊ge	piyaje	born̊ga	–	‘onion’
ko :ya	aṭi	aṭi	–	‘mango stone’
suta	suta	me :ru	–	‘thread’
o̥ṛhu	oṛgdu	aḍa	–	‘house’
moñe	siṛi	sabṛi	–	‘ladder’
moñu	kaldi	kaldi	–	‘banana’
umi	alsi	umi	–	‘sweat’

K	M	S		
daṛi	daṛi	luga	–	'clothes'
duma	duma	dole	–	'cobwebs'
dandli	dandli	jamga	–	'string for hanging clothes'
maṇḍe	manḍe	piṇḍa	–	'verandah'
pihne	pihne	jo :geno	–	'next year'
nekute	nekute	e :ṛu	–	'good'
capṛi	capṛi	ca :ce	–	'stone'
goṭer	goṭer	ormer/goṭer	–	'all'
ki :y	ki :đ	oj	–	'to put'
ga :yi	ga :đi	punu	–	'wound'
ẹ :k	e :k	ka :l/e :k	–	'to go'
aṛ	qaṛ	eṛw	–	'to worship'
ond	qond	dor	–	'to be tired'
nam	nam	qaṛ	–	'to scold'
teh	teṅg	qaw/teṅg	–	'to tell'
ja :ṅ	ja :ṅ	awḍtr	–	'to summon'
piḍr	piḍr	putgr	–	'to blossom'
mugḍ	mugḍ	mu :nḍ	–	'to gore'
laṅga	laṅa	cawge	–	'male of a bird'
beñjr	beñjwur	bedwur	–	'to marry'
sa :rye	saṅale	saṅgalo	–	'friend'
janware	janware	sabaje	–	'animal'
kale	kale	dona	–	'leaf cup'
jarmar	jarmar	qaq	–	'to give birth'
ṭeṭu	ṭeṭu	qequ/ṭeṭu	–	'hand'

On the basis of this data, it is possible to draw a map of dialect distances. Although, phonologically the K dialect shows wide divergence, morphologically and lexically it shows a number of shared features with the M dialect rather than the S dialect. The main isoglosses which separate t S dialect from K and M dialects are as follows :

(i) The pronominal adjective plural marker -tar in K, M, corresponds to -ber/-wal in S.

(ii) The causative -tar in K, M, corresponds to -tr in S.

(iii) The past tense marker -t- in K, M, corresponds to -k- in S.

(iv) The S verbs are not marked for the aspect unlike K, M.

(v) The person marker 1 pl.in. -y in K, M, corresponds to -t in S.

(vi) The future imperative marker -ku in K, M, corresponds to -ke in S.

(vii) Sharing of lexical items is notably higher between K, M than between any one of the two and S.

On the basis of these evidences the K and M dialects may be said nearer to each other than to S, and this may not be entirely due to historical reasons. The dialect position apparently reflects the social situation and the communication pattern between the three ethnic subgroups. Socially, the Kumarbhag is ranked highest and Sawriya the lowest. The Malpaharia which occupies an intermediate position is relatively insecure and has adopted a number of changes, particularly in food habits, marriage customs, etc., symptomatic of its aspirations for social mobility.

CHAPTER 9

TEXT

1. siyaṛ kata
The story of the jackal.
Compound noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal' + kata - 'story'

2. qepond qepđ mañjađ
There was a village.
Classifier – qep - 'village' + ond - 'one'
Noun – qep - 'village' + đ - 'non-masc. gender'
Verb – man - 'to be' + pt. tense + 3 sg.f.

3. a : ḍno ort casa maleh becyah -
There was a farmer.
Adverbial – a : 'remote adj.' + ḍa - 'adverbial noun + locative'
Classifier – ort - 'one human'
Compound noun – casa - 'farmer' + male - 'man' + h - 'masc. gender'
Verb – bey - 'to be' + pt. + 3 sg.m.

4. ahiki keteđ bakṛiđ ḍaḍ la : gno becyađ
His fields were by the side of the forest.
Pronominal – ahi - 'oblique of 3 sg.m. pronoun' + genetive
Noun – kete - 'field' + đ - 'non-masc. gender'
Balance noun – bakṛi - 'corn field' + đ - 'non-masc. gender'
Compound adverb – ḍaḍe - 'forest' + la : gno - 'adv. particle'
Verb – 'bey - 'to be' + pt. + 3 sg.f.

5. a : maleh dinond kocu mandah
One day that man was planting arum.
Adjective – a : - 'remote demonstrative'
Noun – male - 'man' + h - 'masc. gender'
Adverbial – dina - 'day' + ond - 'one'
Noun – kocu - 'arum' (not marked for accusative case)
Verb – mand - 'to plant' + pt. + 3 sg.m.

6. kocu mandar a;kaṛa maqond siyaṛeđ inor e :kiđ ṭunḍiđ
When they were planting arum, at that time a jackal having gone there was watching it.
Noun – kocu - 'arum' (not marked for accusative case)
Verb – mand - 'to plant' + pt. + 3 pl.
Compound adverbial – a : - 'remote adj.' + kaṛa - 'adverbial noun'
Classifier – maq - 'non-human classifier' + ond - 'one'
Noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal' + đ + 'non-masc. gender'
Adverb – inor - 'now'
Participle – e :k - 'to go' + ka - 'marker' + 3 sg.f.
Verb – ṭunḍ - 'to see' + pr. + 3 sg.f.

7. okniđ okniđ a : siyaṛeđ kocu mandruin awḍađ
Sitting there that jackal said to the arum planters.
Participle – ok - 'to sit' + ne - 'marker' + 3 sg.f. (reduplicated)
Adjective – a : - 'that'
Noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal' + đ - 'non-masc. gender'
Noun – kocu - 'arum' (not marked for accusative case)
Participle – mand - 'to plant' + u - 'present participle marker' + r - '3 pl.' + 'accusative case'
Verb – awḍ - 'to speak' + pt. + 3 sg.f.

8. indra manddar mamatarer
What are you planting, uncles?
Pronominal – indr - 'interrogative pronoun' + 'accusative case'
Verb – mand - 'to plant' + pr. + 3 pl.
Noun – mama - 'uncle' + tar - 'collective' + r - 'plural marker'

9. a :nko a : kocu mandur awḍar
As he said, those arum planters said.
Participle – a :n - 'to speak' + ko - 'conditional marker'
Adjective – a : - 'that'
Noun – kocu - 'arum' (not marked for accusative)
Participle – mand - 'to plant' + u - 'pr. participle marker' + r - pl. marker'
Verb – awḍ - 'to say' + pt. + 3 pl.

10. kocu manddam aṛe bagna
We are planting arum, Oh! nephew.
Noun – kocu - 'arum' (not marked for accusative)
Verb – mand - 'to plant' + pr. + 1 pl.ex.
Vocative particle – aṛe
Noun – bagna - 'nephew'

11. a :nko siyaṛeđ ta :n mino lagceđ arin ṭo :gcađ
As they said so, the jackal cheated them as he himself wanted to eat the arums.
Participle – a :n - 'to speak' + ko - 'conditional marker'
Noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal' + đ - 'non-masc. gender'
Pronominal – ta :ni - 'oneself' (3 sg. reflexive)
Participle – min - 'to eat' + o - 'adverbial marker'
Particle – lagca - 'for' + 3 sg.f.
Pronominal – ari - 'oblique for 3 pl.' + 'accusative case'
Verb – ṭo :gy + pt. + 3 sg.f.

12. biter manddar mamatarer
The jackal said – "Uncles, are you planting the arums after cooking them?"
Participle – bit - 'to cook' + e - 'perfect marker' + r - ' 2 pl.'
Verb – mand - 'to plant' + pr. + 2 pl.
Noun – mama - 'uncle' + tar - 'collective' + 'pl. marker'

13. bita mandno andih argeniđ
If you plant those cooked, they will sprout quickly.
Participle – bit - 'to cook' + a - 'perfect marker'
Participle – mand - 'to plant' + no - 'imperfect marker'
Adverb – andih - 'at once'
Verb – arg - 'to rise' + F. + 3 sg.f.

14. a : nko inor siyaṛeđ igjoh awdiđ a : nkar mandaycar ađen jahan tu :rkar ocar bitar
As he said so, (they thought), the jackal is speaking truth. So whatever they planted they dug them up and took them and cooked.
Participle – a :n - 'to speak' + ko - 'conditional marker'

Adverb – inor - 'now'
Noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal' + đ - 'non-masc. gender'
Adverb – igjoh - 'truly'
Verb – awḁ̊ - 'to speak + pr. + 3 sg.f.
Participle – a :n - 'to say' + ka - 'perfect marker' + 3 pl.
Verb – mand - 'to plant' + y - 'aspect' + pt. + e pl.
Pronominal – ađe - 'neuter remote' + 'accusative case'
Particle - jahan - 'also'
Participle - tu :r - 'to dig' + ka - 'perfect' + 3 pl.
Participle – oy - 'to take' + a - 'perfect' + 3 pl.
Verb – bit - 'to cook' + pt. + 3 pl.

15. bitakar ocar mandar
Having cooked, they took them and planted.
Participle – bit - 'to cook' + ka - 'perfect' + 3 pl.
Participle – oy - 'to take' + a - 'perfect' + 3 pl.
Verb – mand - 'to plant' + pt. + 3 pl.

16. mandko siyaṛeđ ma : qa e :kkiđ goṭen i tu :ra tu :ra min oṅki a :r mandaycar mandaycar a :ḍno erg̣ erg̣ topce o :jrađ
As they planted, the jackal came at night and ate all digging the arums and wherever they planted he buried his droppings. Then he went away.
Participle – mand - 'to plant' + ko - 'conditional'
Noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal' + đ - 'non-masc. gender'
Adverbial – ma :qa - 'at night'
Participle – e :k - 'to go' + ka - 'perfect' + 3 sg.f.
Pronominal – goṭe - 'all' (non-human) + 'accusative case'
Particle – i - 'emphatic'
Participle – tu :r - 'to dig' + a - 'perfect' + (durative reduplication)
Compound verb – min - 'to eat' - on - 'to finish' + ka - 'perfect' + 3 sg.f.
Pronoun – a :r - 'they'
Verb – mand - 'to plant' + y - 'aspect' + pt. + 3 pl. + (durative reduplication)
Adverbial – a :ḍno - 'there'
Participle – erg̣ - 'to excecrate' + 'perfect' (not marked) + (durative reduplication)

Participle – topy - 'to bury' + a - 'perfect'
Verb – o :jr - 'to flee' + pt. + 3 sg.f.

17. ketaweh inor din ṭunḍot e :kdah bardah
The farmer is going and coming everyday to see.
Noun – kete - 'field' + awe - 'possessor' + h - 'mas. gender'
Adverb – inor - 'now'
Adverbial – din - 'daily'
Infinitive – ṭunḍ - 'to see' + ot - 'marker'
Verb – e :k - 'to go' + pr. + 3 sg.m.
Verb – bar - 'to come' + pr. + 3 sg.m.

18. kocuđ argomalađ
The arums are not coming up.
Noun – kocu - 'arum' + đ - 'non-masc. gender'
Verb – arg - 'to rise' + negative + pr. + 3 sg.f.

19. di :keh din mañjko indr kudkiđ argomalađ
As it became very late, why are the arums not coming up?
Adverb – di :keh - 'a lot'
Compound verb participle – din - 'day' + man - 'to be' + ko - 'conditional'
Pronoun – indr - 'interrogative'
Participle – kud - 'to do' + ka - 'perfect' + 3 sg.f.
Verb – arg - 'to rise' + negative + pr. + 3 sg.f.

20. a :nkah arqqah ṭunḍḍah tan se siyaṛ pi :k
So saying, he dug and saw that, it is droppings of the jackal.
Participle – a :n - 'to say' + ko - 'perfect' 3 sg.m.
Participle – arg - 'to dig' + ka - 'perfect' + 3 sg.m.
Verb – ṭunḍ - 'to see' + pr. + 3 sg.m.
Particle – tan se - 'that' (conjunctive)
Compound noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal' + pi :k - 'excreta'

21. i :ḍen argno hon siyaṛ pi :k a :ḍen argno hon siyaṛ pi :k
If you dig here it is jackal dung, if you dig there it is jackal dung.
Adverbial – i : - 'proximate adj.' + ḍa - 'adverbial noun' + 'accusative case'

Participle – arg - 'to dig' + no - 'imperfective'
Particle – hon - 'also'
Compound noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal' + piːk - 'excreta'
Adverbial – aː - 'remote adj.' + ḍa - 'adverbial noun' + 'accusative case'
Participle – arg - 'to dig' + no - 'imperfective'
Particle – hon - 'also'
Compound noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal' + piːk - 'excreta'

22. inor keyp siyaṛe taːn mino lagced budi nanyad
The damned jackal did this trick to eat the arums.
Adverb – inor - 'now'
Participle – key - 'to die' + pe - 'past participle marker'
Noun - 'siyaṛe - 'jackal'
Pronominal – taːn - '3 sg. reflexive'
Participle – min - 'to eat' + o - 'adverbial marker'
Particle – lagca - 'for' + 3 sg.f.
Compound verb – 'budi - 'trick' + nan - 'to do' + pt. + 3 sg.f.

23. aden igjoh aːnkan bita ḍuṅtan jan ay namdah
Thinking it true, I am sunk having cooked the arums. Thus he scolded.
Pronominal – ade - 'neuter oblique' + 'accusative case'
Adverb – igjoh - 'truly'
Participle – aːn - 'to say' + ka - 'perfect' + 1 sg.
Participle – bit - 'to cook' + a - 'perfect'
Verb – ḍuṅ - 'to sink' + pt. + 1 sg.
Particle – jan - 'I, the poor fellow'
Particle – ay - 'quotative'
Verb – nam - 'to scold' + pr. + 3 sg.m.

24. aca ambe siyaṛe ninen hon ṭunḍan eːn
Alright! you wait jackal! I will also see you!
Particle – aca - 'alright!'
Particle – ambe - 'wait'
Noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal'
Pronominal – nin - '2 sg. oblique' + 'accusative case'

Particle – hon - 'also'
Verb – ṭunḍ - 'to see' + F. + 1 sg.
Pronoun – e :n - 'I'

25. a :h gurarneh gurarneh dinond a : maq siyaṛen e :ka jimrah
One day while wandering, he met the jackal.
Pronoun – a :h - 'he'
Participle – gurar - 'to wander' + ne - 'imperfective' + 3 sg.m. (durative reduplication)
Adverbial – din - 'day' + ond - 'one'
Adjective – a : - 'that'
Classifier – maq - 'non-human'
Noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal' + 'accusative case'
Participle – e :k - to go' + a - 'perfect'
Verb – jimr - 'to meet' + pt. + 3 sg.m.

26. e :ka jimrakah awḍah bagna ne :la eṅ bahano bo :je manenid
After meeting him, he said, "Nephew, tomorrow, there will be a feast at my place".
Participle – e :k - 'to go' + a - 'perfect'
Participle – jimr - 'to meet' + ka - 'perfect' + 3 sg.m.
Verb – awḍ - 'to speak' + pt. + 3 sg.m.
Noun – bagna - 'nephew'
Adverb – ne :la - 'tomorrow'
Adverbial compound – eṅ - 1 sg. oblique + baha - 'adverbial noun' + 'locative case'
Compound verb – boje - 'feast' + man - 'to be' + F. + 3 sg.f.

27. bagnatarer nim goṭer e :kker lapker moqqer barener
"Nephews, you all should come and eat".
Noun – bagna - 'nephew' + tar - 'collective' + r - 'plural'
Pronoun – nim – 'you plural'
Pronoun – goṭ - 'all' + r - 'plural'
Participle – e :k - 'to go' + ka – 'perfect' + 2 pl.
Participle – lap - 'to eat' + ka - 'perfect' + 2 pl.
Balance verb – moq - 'to eat' + ka - 'perfect' + 2 pl.
Verb – bar - 'to come' + F. + 2 pl.

28. a :nko siyaṛeđ awḍad e :kanam ta
As he said, the jackal said – "We shall come, of course!"
Participle – a :n - 'to say' + ko - 'conditional'
Noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal + đ - 'non-masc. gender'
Verb – awḍ - 'to speak' + pt. + 3 sg.f.
Verb – e :k - 'to go' + F. + 1 pl.ex.
Particle – ta - 'of course'

29. siyaṛeđ nan đina giṛgiṛṛeđ ekyađ
The jackals came the other day hurriedly.
Noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal' + đ - 'non-masc. gender'
Adverbial compound – nan - 'other' + dina - 'day'
Participle – giṛgiṛr - 'to rush' + a - 'perfect' + 3 sg.f.
Verb – e :k - 'to go' + pt. + 3 sg.f.

30. kocu minu maqđ i goṭeki sardarni mañjađ
The jackal who ate the arums was the chief of all jackals.
Noun – kocu - 'arum'
Participle – min - 'to eat' + u - 'present participle'
Classifier – maq - 'non-human' + đ - 'non-masc. gender'
Particle – i - 'emphatic'
Pronominal – goṭe - 'all' (non-human) + genitive case
Noun – sardare - 'chief' + ni - 'female'
Verb – man - 'to be' + pt. 3 sg.f.

31. aṛsko a : bi :ku maleh awḍah aṛstar bagnatarer
As they reached, the man who invited said, " Nephews, have you all reached?"
Participle – aṛs - 'to reach' + ko - 'conditional'
Adjective – a : - 'that'
Participle – bi :k - 'to call' + u - present participle'
Noun – male - 'man' + h - 'mas. gender'
Verb – awḍ - 'to speak' + pt. + 3 sg.m.
Verb – aṛs - 'to reach' + pt. + 2 pl.
Noun – bagna - 'nephew' + tar - 'collective' + r - 'plural'

32. siyaṛeđ awḍađ aṛstam aṛe mama
The jackals said, "we have reached, oh uncle!"

Noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal' + non-masc. gender
Verb – awḍ - 'to speak' + pt. + 3 sg.f.
Verb – aṛs - 'to reach' + pt. + 1 pl.ex.
Particle – aṛe - 'vocative'
Noun – mama - 'uncle'

33. maleh awḍah ṭi :ked i
The man said, "it is alright!"
Noun – male - 'man' + h - masc. gender
Verb – awḍ - 'to speak' + pt. + 3 sg.m.
Adjective – ṭi :ke - 'right' + non-masc. gen. (adjective in predicative)
Particle – i - 'emphatic'

34. lap pahred aṛsot nanid a :kaṛa ahit gacarad
"The eating time is going to come, therefore come in a line!"
Compound noun – lape - 'eating' (gerund) + pahra - 'time' + non-masc. gender
Infinitive – aṛs - 'to reach' + ot - 'marker'
Verb – nan - 'to do' + pr. + 3 sg.f.
Adverbial – a : - 'that' + kaṛa - 'time' (adverbial noun)
Adverbial – pahi - 'line' + 'instrumental case'
Verb – gacar - 'to be arranged' + pt. + 3 sg.f.

35. a :nko siyaṛed gacarad
As he said, the jackals formed a line.
Participle – a :n - 'to say' + ko - 'conditional'
Noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal' + 'non-masc. gender'
Verb – gacar - 'to be arranged' + pt. + 3 sg.f.

36. gacarko sardarnid mañjad a : siyaṛen awḍah
As they filed, he said to the jackal who was the chief.
Participle – gacar - 'to be arranged' + ko - 'conditional'
Noun – sardare - 'chief' + ni - 'feminine' + non-masc. gender
Verb – man - 'to be' + pt. + 3 sg.f.
Adjective – a : - 'that'
Noun – siyaṛe - 'jackal' + accusative case
Verb – awḍ - 'to speak' + pt. + 3 sg.m.

37. bagna inor lap pahređ mañjađ
“Nephew, now the eating time has come!”
Noun – bagna - ‘nephew’
Adverb – inor - ‘now’
Compound noun – lape - ‘eating’ (gerund) + pahra - ‘hour’ +
non-masc. gender
Verb – man - ‘to be’ + pt. + 3 sg.f.

38. pa :re uglarin
“But, I am thinking!”
Particle – pa :re - ‘but’ (conjunctive)
Verb – uglar - ‘to think’ + pr. + 1 sg.

39. nimen bahondno ciyno icgond bacrnaqdar anda ikeh jimanah ikeh jimlanah andih eñemeñeh coñja coñja cino ṭi :k manal
“If I give you in one place, you might snatch from each other and then some one may get and some one may not. Therefore, would it not be better if I serve you binding separately?”
Pronominal – nim - ‘2 pl. oblique’ + accusative case
Adverbial – baha - ‘place’ + ond - ‘one’ + locative case
Participle – ciy - ‘to give’ + no - ‘imperfective’
Adverb – icgond - ‘in case’
Verb – bac - ‘to snatch’ + r - ‘reflexive’ + naq - ‘reciprocative’ +
pr. + 2 pl.
Adverb – anda - ‘then’
Pronoun – ike - ‘who’ + mas. gender.
Verb – jim - ‘to get’ + F. + 3 sg.m.
Particle – andih - ‘therefore’ (conjunctive)
Adverb – eñemeñeh - ‘separately’
Participle – coñj - ‘to bind’ + a - ‘perfect’ (durative reduplication)
Compound verb – ṭi :k - ‘right’ + man - ‘to be’ + subjunctive + 3 sg.f.

40. a :nko sardarniđ awḍađ ṭi :keđ i
As he said, he chief said – “It is alright!”
Participle – a :n - ‘to say’ + ko - ‘conditional’
Noun – sardare - ‘chief’ + ni - ‘feminine’ + non-masc. gender
Verb – awḍ - ‘to speak’ + pt. + 3 sg.f.

Adjective – ṭi :ke - 'right' (in predicative) + 3 sg.f.
Particle – i - 'emphatic'

41. dekṛe mama
"Come on!, uncle!"
Particle – dekṛe - 'come on!'
Noun – mama - 'uncle'

42. a :nko sardarnin agdih e :cakah goṭen pahit e :cah
As she said, he having bound the chief first, he bound all others in a row.
Participle – a :n - 'to say' + ko - 'conditional'
Noun – sardare - 'chief' + ni - 'feminine' + accusative
Adverb – agdih - 'at first'
Participle – e :y - 'to bind' + ka – 'perfect' + 3 sg.m.
Pronominal – goṭe - 'all' + accusative case
Adverbial – pahi - 'line' + instrumental case
Verb – e :y - 'to bind' + pt. + 3 sg.m.

43. e :cakah ḍaṛond be :ḍola :go laṭin otrah
Having bound them he took out a biggish stick.
Participle – e :y - 'to bind' + ka - 'perfect' + 3 sg.m.
Classifier – ḍaṛa - 'long, large object' + ond - 'one'
Adjective – be :ḍo - 'large' + la :go - 'derivative suffix'
Noun – laṭi - 'stick' + accusative case
Verb – otr - 'to take out' + pt. + 3 sg.m.

44. und ku :ne bagnatarer laped ay sardarninnte bi :nḍkah bajocah bajondrah
"Take it nephews, the food!" So saying, starting from the chief he went on beating.
Particle – und ku : ne - 'hold it!' (when addressed to more than one person)
Noun – bagna - 'nephew' + tar - 'collective' + r - 'plural'
Gerund – lape - 'eating' + + 'non-masc. gender'
Particle – ay - 'quotative'
Noun – sardare - 'chief' + ni - 'feminine' + ablative case

Participle – bi :nḍ - 'to begin' + ka - 'perfect' + 3 sg.m.
Compound verb – baj - 'to beat' + oy - 'to take' + pt. + 3 sg.m.
Compound verb – baj - 'to beat' + ondr - 'to bring' + pt. + 3 sg.m.

45. baja qondtarakah kolkah teyah
When he got them exhausted he unfastened them and sent them away.
Participle – baj - 'to beat' + a - 'perfect'
Participle – qond - 'to be tired' + tar - 'causative' + ka - 'perfect' + 3 sg.m.
Participle – kol - 'to open' - + ka - 'perfect' + 3 sg.m.
Verb – tey - 'to send' + pt.+ 3 sg.m.

46. andih ulṭar ṭunḍnid boṅg̣yad
Therefore, turning back and looking they ran away.
Particle – andih - 'therefore' (conjunctive)
Participle – ulṭar - 'to turn back' + a - 'perfect' (unmarked)
Participle – ṭunḍ - 'to look' + ne - 'imperfect' + 3 sg.f.
Verb – boṅg̣ - 'to flee' + pt. + 3 sg.f.

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